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WORKS

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MR. BURKE's SPEECH

ON THE FIRST OF DECEMBER, 1783,

UPON THE QUESTION FOR THE

SPEAKER's LEAVING THE CHAIR,

IN ORDER FOR

THE HOUSE TO RESOLVE ITSELF INTO A COMMITTEE,

ON

MR. FOX's

EAST-INDIA BILL.

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SPEECH, &c.

MR. SPEAKER,

I THANK you for pointing to me. I really wiſhed much to engage your attention in an early ſtage of the debate, I have been long very deeply, though perhaps ineffectually, engaged in the preliminary enquiries, which have continued without intermiſſion for ſome years. Though I have felt, with ſome degree of ſenſibility, the natural and inevitable impreſſions of the ſeveral matters of fact, as they have been ſucceſſively diſcloſed, I have not at any time attempted to trouble you on the merits of the ſubject; and very little on any of the points which incidentally aroſe in the courſe of our proceedings. But I ſhould be ſorry to be found totally ſilent upon this day. Our inquiries are now come to their final iſſue:—It is now to be determined whether the three years of laborious parliamentary reſearch, whether the twenty years of patient Indian ſuffering, are to produce a ſubſtantial reform in our eaſtern adminiſtration; or whether our knowledge of the grievances has abated our zeal for the correction

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of them, and our very enquiry into the evil was only a pretext to elude the remedy which is demanded from us by humanity, by juſtice, and by every principle of true policy. Depend upon it, this buſineſs cannot be indifferent to our fame. It will turn out a matter of great diſgrace or great glory to the whole Britiſh nation. We are on a conſpicuous ſtage, and the world marks our demeanour.

I am therefore a little concerned to perceive the ſpirit and temper in which the debate has been all along purſued upon one ſide of the houſe. The declamation of the gentlemen who oppoſe the bill has been abundant and vehement; but they have been reſerved and even ſilent about the fitneſs or unfitneſs of the plan to attain the direct object it has in view. By ſome gentlemen it is taken up (by way of exerciſe I preſume) as a point of law on a queſtion of private property, and corporate franchiſe; by others it is regarded as the petty intrigue of a faction at court, and argued merely as it tends to ſet this man a little higher, or that a little lower in ſituation and power. All the void has been filled up with invectives againſt coalition; with alluſions to the loſs of America; with the activity and inactivity of miniſters. The total ſilence of theſe gentlemen concerning the intereſt and well-being of the people of India, and concerning the intereſt which this nation has in the commerce

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merce and revenues of that country, is a ſtrong indication of the value which they ſet upon theſe objects.

It has been a little painful to me to obſerve the intruſion into this important debate of ſuch company as *quo warranto*, and *mandamus*, and *certiorari*; as if we were on a trial about mayors and aldermen, and capital burgeſſes; or engaged in a ſuit concerning the borough of Penryn, or Saltaſh, or St. Ives, or St. Mawes. Gentlemen have argued with as much heat and paſſion, as if the firſt things in the world were at ſtake; and their topicks are ſuch, as belong only to matter of the loweſt and meaneſt litigation. It is not right, it is not worthy of us, in this manner to depreciate the value, to degrade the majeſty, of this grave deliberation of policy and empire.

For my part, I have thought myſelf bound, when a matter of this extraordinary weight came before me, not to conſider (as ſome gentlemen are ſo fond of doing) whether the bill originated from a ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, or from a ſecretary for the foreign, from a miniſter of influence or a miniſter of the people; from Jacob or from Eſau.* I aſked myſelf, and I aſked myſelf nothing elſe, what part it was fit for a member of parliament, who has ſupplied a medio-

* An allusion made by Mr. Powis.

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erity of talents by the extreme of diligence, and who has thought himself obliged, by the research of years, to wind himself into the inmost recesses and labyrinths of the Indian detail, what part, I say, it became such a member of parliament to take, when a minister of state, in conformity to a recommendation from the throne, has brought before us a system for the better government of the territory and commerce of the east. In this light, and in this only, I will trouble you with my sentiments.

It is not only agreed but demanded, by the right honourable gentleman,* and by those who act with him, that a *whole* system ought to be produced; that it ought not to be an *half measure*; that it ought to be no *palliative*; but a legislative provision, vigorous, substantial, and effective.—I believe that no man who understands the subject can doubt for a moment, that those must be the conditions of any thing deserving the name of a reform in the Indian government; that any thing short of them would not only be delusive, but, in this matter which admits no medium, noxious in the extreme.

To all the conditions proposed by his adversaries the mover of the bill perfectly agrees; and on his performance of them he rests his cause. On the

* Mr. Pitt.

other

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other hand, not the leaſt objection has been taken, with regard to the efficiency, the vigour, or the completeneſs of the ſcheme. I am therefore warranted to aſſume, as a thing admitted, that the bills accompliſh what both ſides of the houſe demand as eſſential. The end is completely anſwered, ſo far as the direct and immediate object is concerned.

But though there are no direct, yet there are various collateral objections made; objections from the effects which this plan of reform for Indian adminiſtration may have on the privileges of great publick bodies in England; from its probable influence on the conſtitutional rights, or on the freedom and integrity of the ſeveral branches of the legiſlature.

Before I anſwer theſe objections, I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that if we are not able to contrive ſome method of governing India *well*, which will not of neceſſity become the means of governing Great Britain *ill*, a ground is laid for their eternal ſeparation; but none for ſacrificing the people of that country to our conſtitution. I am however far from being perſuaded that any ſuch incompatibility of intereſt does at all exiſt. On the contrary I am certain that every means, effectual to preſerve India from oppreſſion, is a guard to preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution from its worſt cor-

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ruption. To ſhew this, I will conſider the objections, which I think are four.

1ſt. That the bill is an attack on the chartered rights of men.

2dly. That it increaſes the influence of the crown.

3dly. That it does *not* increaſe, but diminiſhes, the influence of the crown, in order to promote the intereſts of certain miniſters and their party.

4thly. That it deeply affects the national credit.

As to the firſt of theſe objections; I muſt obſerve that the phraſe of "the chartered rights *of* "*men*," is full of affectation; and very unuſual in the diſcuſſion of privileges conferred by charters of the preſent deſcription. But it is not difficult to diſcover what end that ambiguous mode of expreſſion, ſo often reiterated, is meant to anſwer.

The rights of *men*, that is to ſay, the natural rights of mankind, are indeed ſacred things; and if any publick meaſure is proved miſchievouſly to affect them, the objection ought to be fatal to that meaſure, even if no charter at all could be ſet up againſt it. If theſe natural rights are further affirmed and declared by expreſs covenants, if they are clearly defined and ſecured againſt chicane, againſt power, and authority, by written inſtruments and poſitive engagements, they are in a ſtill better

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better condition: they partake not only of the ſanctity of the object ſo ſecured, but of that ſolemn publick faith itſelf, which ſecures an object of ſuch importance. Indeed this formal recognition, by the ſovereign power, of an original right in the ſubject, can never be ſubverted, but by rooting up the holding radical principles of government, and even of ſociety itſelf. The charters, which we call by diſtinction *great*, are publick inſtruments of this nature; I mean the charters of king John and king Henry the third. The things ſecured by theſe inſtruments may, without any deceitful ambiguity, be very fitly called the *chartered rights of men.*

Theſe charters have made the very name of a charter dear to the heart of every Engliſhman:— But, Sir, there may be, and there are charters, not only different in nature, but formed on principles the *very reverſe* of thoſe of the great charter. Of this kind is the charter of the Eaſt-India company. *Magna charta* is a charter to reſtrain power, and to deſtroy monopoly. The Eaſt-India charter is a charter to eſtabliſh monopoly, and to create power. Political power and commercial monopoly are *not* the rights of men; and the rights of them derived from charters, it is fallacious and ſophiſtical to call "the chartered rights of men." Theſe chartered rights, (to ſpeak of ſuch charters and of their effects in terms of the greateſt poſſible moderation) do

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do at leaſt ſuſpend the natural rights of mankind at large; and in their very frame and conſtitution are liable to fall into a direct violation of them.

It is a charter of this latter deſcription (that is to ſay a charter of power and monopoly) which is affected by the bill before you. The bill, Sir, does, without queſtion, affect it; it does affect it eſſentially and ſubſtantially. But having ſtated to you of what deſcription the chartered rights are which this bill touches, I feel no difficulty at all in acknowledging the exiſtence of thoſe chartered rights, in their fulleſt extent. They belong to the company in the ſureſt manner; and they are ſecured to that body by every ſort of publick ſanction. They are ſtamped by the faith of the king; they are ſtamped by the faith of parliament; they have been bought for money, for money honeſtly and fairly paid; they have been bought for valuable conſideration, over and over again.

I therefore freely admit to the Eaſt-India company their claim to exclude their fellow-ſubjects from the commerce of half the globe. I admit their claim to adminiſter an annual territorial revenue of ſeven millions ſterling; to command an army of ſixty thouſand men; and to diſpoſe, (under the controul of a ſovereign imperial diſcretion, and with the due obſervance of the natural and local law) of the lives and fortunes of thirty millions of their fellow-creatures. All this they

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they poſſeſs by charter and by acts of parliament, (in my opinion) without a ſhadow of controverſy.

Thoſe who carry the rights and claims of the company the furtheſt do not contend for more than this; and all this I freely grant. But granting all this, they muſt grant to me in my turn, that all political power which is ſet over men, and that all privilege claimed or exerciſed in excluſion of them, being wholly artificial, and for ſo much a derogation from the natural equality of mankind at large, ought to be ſome way or other exerciſed ultimately for their benefit.

If this is true with regard to every ſpecies of political dominion, and every deſcription of commercial privilege, none of which can be original ſelf-derived rights, or grants for the mere private benefit of the holders, then ſuch rights, or privileges, or whatever elſe you chooſe to call them, are all in the ſtricteſt ſenſe a *truſt*; and it is of the very eſſence of every truſt to be rendered *accountable*; and even totally to *ceaſe*, when it ſubſtantially varies from the purpoſes for which alone it could have a lawful exiſtence.

This I conceive, Sir, to be true of truſts of power veſted in the higheſt hands, and of ſuch as ſeem to hold of no human creature. But about the application of this principle to ſubordinate *derivative* truſts, I do not ſee how a controverſy can be maintained. To whom then would I make the Eaſt-

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East-India company accountable? Why, to parliament, to be sure; to parliament, from whom their trust was derived; to parliament, which alone is capable of comprehending the magnitude of its object, and its abuse; and alone capable of an effectual legislative remedy. The very charter, which is held out to exclude parliament from correcting malversation with regard to the high trust vested in the company, is the very thing which at once gives a title and imposes a duty on us to interfere with effect, wherever power and authority originating from ourselves are perverted from their purposes, and become instruments of wrong and violence.

If parliament, Sir, had nothing to do with this charter, we might have some sort of Epicurean excuse to stand aloof, indifferent spectators of what passes in the company's name in India and in London. But if we are the very cause of the evil, we are in a special manner engaged to the redress; and for us passively to bear with oppressions committed under the sanction of our own authority, is in truth and reason for this house to be an active accomplice in the abuse.

That the power notoriously, grossly abused has been bought from us is very certain. But this circumstance, which is urged against the bill, becomes an additional motive for our interference; lest we should be thought to have sold the blood of

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of millions of men, for the baſe conſideration of money. We ſold, I admit, all that we had to ſell; that is, our authority, not our controul. We had not a right to make a market of our duties.

I ground myſelf therefore on this principle—that if the abuſe is proved, the contract is broken; and we re-enter into all our rights; that is, into the exerciſe of all our duties: Our own authority is indeed as much a truſt originally, as the company's authority is a truſt derivatively; and it is the uſe we make of the reſumed power that muſt juſtify or condemn us in the reſumption of it. When we have perfected the plan laid before us by the right honourable mover, the world will then ſee what it is we deſtroy, and what it is we create. By that teſt we ſtand or fall; and by that teſt I truſt that it will be found in the iſſue, that we are going to ſuperſede a charter abuſed to the full extent of all the powers which it could abuſe, and exerciſed in the plenitude of deſpotiſm, tyranny and corruption; and that in one and the ſame plan, we provide a real chartered ſecurity for the *rights of men* cruelly violated under that charter.

This bill, and thoſe connected with it, are intended to form the *magna charta* of Hindoſtan. Whatever the treaty of Weſtphalia is to the liberty of the princes and free cities of the empire, and to

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to the three religions there profeſſed—Whatever the great charter, the ſtatute of tallage, the petition of right, and the declaration of right, are to Great Britain, theſe bills are to the people of India. Of this benefit, I am certain, their condition is capable; and when I know that they are capable of more, my vote ſhall moſt aſſuredly be for our giving to the full extent of their capacity of receiving; and no charter of dominion ſhall ſtand as a bar in my way to their charter of ſafety and protection.

The ſtrong admiſſion I have made of the company's rights (I am conſcious of it) binds me to do a great deal. I do not preſume to condemn thoſe who argue *a priori*, againſt the propriety of leaving ſuch extenſive political powers in the hands of a company of merchants. I know much is, and much more may be, ſaid againſt ſuch a ſyſtem. But, with my particular ideas and ſentiments, I cannot go that way to work. I feel an inſuperable reluctance in giving my hand to deſtroy any eſtabliſhed inſtitution of government, upon a theory, however plauſible it may be. My experience in life teaches me nothing clear upon the ſubject. I have known merchants with the ſentiments and the abilities of great ſtateſmen; and I have ſeen perſons in the rank of ſtateſmen, with the conceptions and character of pedlars. Indeed, my obſervation has furniſhed me with nothing that is

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to be found in any habits of life or education, which tends wholly to diſqualify men for the functions of government, but that, by which the power of exerciſing thoſe functions is very frequently obtained, I mean a ſpirit and habits of low cabal and intrigue; which I have never, in one inſtance, ſeen united with a capacity for ſound and manly policy.

To juſtify us in taking the adminiſtration of their affairs out of the hands of the Eaſt-India company, on my principles, I muſt ſee ſeveral conditions. 1ſt. The object affected by the abuſe ſhould be great and important. 2d. The abuſe affecting this great object ought to be a great abuſe. 3d. It ought to be habitual, and not accidental. 4th. It ought to be utterly incurable in the body as it now ſtands conſtituted. All this ought to be made as viſible to me as the light of the ſun, before I ſhould ſtrike off an atom of their charter. A right honourable gentleman* has ſaid, and ſaid I think but once, and that very ſlightly (whatever his original demand for a plan might ſeem to require) that "there are abuſes in the company's "government." If that were all, the ſcheme of the mover of this bill, the ſcheme of his learned friend, and his own ſcheme of reformation (if he has any) are all equally needleſs. There are, and muſt be, abuſes in all governments. It amounts

* Mr. Pitt.

to

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to no more than a nugatory propoſition. But before I conſider of what nature theſe abuſes are, of which the gentleman ſpeaks ſo very lightly, permit me to recall to your recollection the map of the country which this abuſed chartered right affects. This I ſhall do, that you may judge whether in that map I can diſcover any thing like the firſt of my conditions; that is, Whether the object affected by the abuſe of the Eaſt-India company's power be of importance ſufficiently to juſtify the meaſure and means of reform applied to it in this bill.

With very few, and thoſe inconſiderable intervals, the Britiſh dominion, either in the company's name, or in the names of princes abſolutely dependent upon the company, extends from the mountains that ſeparate India from Tartary, to cape Comorin, that is, one-and-twenty degrees of latitude!

In the northern parts it is a ſolid maſs of land, about eight hundred miles in length, and four or five hundred broad. As you go ſouthward, it becomes narrower for a ſpace. It afterwards dilates; but narrower or broader, you poſſeſs the whole eaſtern and north-eaſtern coaſt of that vaſt country, quite from the borders of Pegu.—Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, with Benares, (now unfortunately in our immediate poſſeſſion) meaſure 161,978 ſquare Engliſh miles; a territory conſiderably

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ſiderably larger than the whole kingdom of France. Oude, with its dependent provinces, is 53,286 ſquare miles, not a great deal leſs than England. The Carnatick, with Tanjour and the Circars, is 65,948 ſquare miles, very conſiderably larger than England; and the whole of the company's dominions, comprehending Bombay and Salſette, amounts to 281,412 ſquare miles; which forms a territory larger than any European dominion, Ruſſia and Turkey excepted. Through all that vaſt extent of country there is not a man who eats a mouthful of rice but by permiſſion of the Eaſt-India company.

So far with regard to the extent. The population of this great empire is not eaſy to be calculated. When the countries, of which it is compoſed, came into our poſſeſſion, they were all eminently peopled, and eminently productive; though at that time conſiderably declined from their ancient proſperity. But ſince they are come into our hands!——! However, if we make the period of our eſtimate immediately before the utter deſolation of the Carnatick, and if we allow for the havock which our government had even then made in theſe regions, we cannot, in my opinion, rate the population at much leſs than thirty millions of ſouls; more than four times the number of perſons in the iſland of Great Britain.

My next inquiry to that of the number, is the

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quality and deſcription of the inhabitants. This multitude of men does not conſiſt of an abject and barbarous populace; much leſs of gangs of ſavages, like the Guaranies and Chiquitos, who wander on the waſte borders of the river of Amazons, or the Plate; but a people for ages civilized and cultivated; cultivated by all the arts of poliſhed life, whilſt we were yet in the woods. There, have been (and ſtill the ſkeletons remain) princes once of great dignity, authority, and opulence. There, are to be found the chiefs of tribes and nations. There, is to be found an ancient and venerable prieſthood, the depoſitory of their laws, learning, and hiſtory, the guides of the people whilſt living, and their conſolation in death; a nobility of great antiquity and renown; a multitude of cities, not exceeded in population and trade by thoſe of the firſt claſs in Europe; merchants and bankers, individual houſes of whom have once vied in capital with the bank of England; whoſe credit had often ſupported a tottering ſtate, and preſerved their governments in the midſt of war and deſolation; millions of ingenious manufacturers and mechanicks; millions of the moſt diligent, and not the leaſt intelligent, tillers of the earth. Here are to be found almoſt all the religions profeſſed by men, the Braminical, the Muſſulman, the Eaſtern and the Weſtern Chriſtian.

If

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If I were to take the whole aggregate of our poſſeſſions there, I ſhould compare it, as the neareſt parallel I can find, with the empire of Germany. Our immediate poſſeſſions I ſhould compare with the Auſtrian dominions, and they would not ſuffer in the compariſon. The nabob of Oude might ſtand for the king of Pruſſia; the nabob of Arcot I would compare, as ſuperiour in territory, and equal in revenue, to the elector of Saxony. Cheyt Sing, the rajah of Benares, might well rank with the prince of Heſſe, at leaſt; and the rajah of Tanjore (though hardly equal in extent of dominion, ſuperiour in revenue) to the elector of Bavaria. The Polygars and the northern Zemindars, and other great chiefs, might well claſs with the reſt of the princes, dukes, counts, marquiſſes, and biſhops in the empire; all of whom I mention to honour, and ſurely without diſparagement to any or all of thoſe moſt reſpectable princes and grandees.

All this vaſt maſs, compoſed of ſo many orders and claſſes of men, is again infinitely diverſified by manners, by religion, by hereditary employment, through all their poſſible combinations. This renders the handling of India a matter in a high degree critical and delicate. But oh! it has been handled rudely indeed. Even ſome of the reformers ſeem to have forgot that they had any

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thing to do but to regulate the tenants of a manor, or the ſhopkeepers of the next county town.

It is an empire of this extent, of this complicated nature, of this dignity and importance, that I have compared to Germany, and the German government; not for an exact reſemblance, but as a ſort of a middle term, by which India might be approximated to our underſtandings, and if poſſible to our feelings; in order to awaken ſomething of ſympathy for the unfortunate natives, of which I am afraid we are not perfectly ſuſceptible, whilſt we look at this very remote object through a falſe and cloudy medium.

My ſecond condition, neceſſary to juſtify me in touching the charter, is, Whether the company's abuſe of their truſt, with regard to this great object, be an abuſe of great atrocity. I ſhall beg your permiſſion to conſider their conduct in two lights; firſt the political, and then the commercial. Their political conduct (for diſtinctneſs) I divide again into two heads; the external, in which I mean to comprehend their conduct in their federal capacity, as it relates to powers and ſtates independent, or that not long ſince were ſuch; the other internal, namely their conduct to the countries either immediately ſubject to the company, or to thoſe who, under the apparent government of native ſovereigns, are in a ſtate much

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much lower, and much more miſerable, than common ſubjection.

The attention, Sir, which I wiſh to preſerve to method will not be conſidered as unneceſſary or affected. Nothing elſe can help me to ſelection out of the infinite maſs of materials which have paſſed under my eye; or can keep my mind ſteady to the great leading points I have in view.

With regard therefore to the abuſe of the external federal truſt, I engage myſelf to you to make good theſe three poſitions:—Firſt, I ſay, that from mount Imaus, (or whatever elſe you call that large range of mountains that walls the northern frontier of India) where it touches us in the latitude of twenty-nine, to Cape Comorin, in the latitude of eight, that there is not a *ſingle* prince, ſtate, or potentate, great or ſmall, in India, with whom they have come into contact, whom they have not ſold. I ſay *ſold*, though ſometimes they have not been able to deliver according to their bargain.—Secondly, I ſay, that there is not a *ſingle treaty* they have ever made, which they have not broken.—Thirdly, I ſay, that there is not a ſingle prince or ſtate, who ever put any truſt in the company, who is not utterly ruined; and that none are in any degree ſecure or flouriſhing, but in the exact proportion to their ſettled diſtruſt and irreconcileable enmity to this nation.

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Theſe aſſertions are univerſal. I ſay in the full ſenſe *univerſal*. They regard the external and political truſt only; but I ſhall produce others fully equivalent in the internal. For the preſent, I ſhall content myſelf with explaining my meaning; and if I am called on for proof whilſt theſe bills are depending (which I believe I ſhall not) I will put my finger on the appendixes to the reports, or on papers of record in the houſe, or the committees, which I have diſtinctly preſent to my memory, and which I think I can lay before you at half an hour's warning.

The firſt potentate ſold by the company for money, was the Great Mogul—the deſcendant of Tamerlane. This high perſonage, as high as human veneration can look at, is by every account amiable in his manners, reſpectable for his piety according to his mode, and accompliſhed in all the Oriental literature. All this, and the title derived under his *charter*, to all that we hold in India, could not ſave him from the general *ſale*. Money is coined in his name; in his name juſtice is adminiſtered; he is prayed for in every temple through the countries we poſſeſs—But he was ſold.

It is impoſſible, Mr. Speaker, not to pauſe here for a moment, to reflect on the inconſtancy of human greatneſs, and the ſtupendous revolutions that have happened in our age of wonders. Could it be believed when I entered into exiſtence, or when

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when you, a younger man, were born, that on this day, in this houſe, we ſhould be employed in diſcuſſing the conduct of thoſe Britiſh ſubjects who had diſpoſed of the power and perſon of the Grand Mogul? This is no idle ſpeculation. Awful leſſons are taught by it, and by other events, of which it is not yet too late to profit.

This is hardly a digreſſion; but I return to the ſale of the Mogul. Two diſtricts, Corah, and Allahabad, out of his immenſe grants, were reſerved as a royal demeſne to the donor of a kingdom, and the rightful ſovereign of ſo many nations.—After withholding the tribute of 260,000*l.* a year, which the company was, by the *charter* they had received from this prince, under the moſt ſolemn obligation to pay, theſe diſtricts were ſold to his chief miniſter Sujah ul Dowlah; and, what may appear to ſome the worſt part of the tranſaction, theſe two diſtricts were ſold for ſcarcely two years purchaſe. The deſcendant of Tamerlane now ſtands in need almoſt of the common neceſſaries of life; and in this ſituation we do not even allow him, as bounty, the ſmalleſt portion of what we owe him in juſtice.

The next ſale was that of the whole nation of the Rohillas, which the grand ſaleſman, without a pretence of quarrel, and contrary to his own declared ſenſe of duty and rectitude, ſold to the ſame Sujah ul Dowlah. He ſold the people to utter *ex-*

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tirpation, for the ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds. Faithfully was the bargain performed on our ſide. Hafiz Rhamet, the moſt eminent of their chiefs, one of the braveſt men of his time, and as famous throughout the Eaſt for the elegance of his literature, and the ſpirit of his poetical compoſitions (by which he ſupported the name of Hafiz) as for his courage, was invaded with an army of an hundred thouſand men, and an Engliſh brigade. This man, at the head of inferiour forces was ſlain valiantly fighting for his country. His head was cut off, and delivered for money to a barbarian. His wife and children, perſons of that rank, were ſeen begging an handful of rice through the Engliſh camp. The whole nation, with inconſiderable exceptions, was ſlaughtered or baniſhed. The country was laid waſte with fire and ſword; and that land, diſtinguiſhed above moſt others by the cheerful face of paternal government and protected labour, the choſen ſeat of cultivation and plenty, is now almoſt throughout a dreary deſert, covered with ruſhes and briers, and jungles full of wild beaſts.

The Britiſh officer who commanded in the delivery of the people thus ſold, felt ſome compunction at his employment. He repreſented theſe enormous exceſſes to the preſident of Bengal, for which he received a ſevere reprimand from the civil governor; and I much doubt whether the breach cauſed

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caused by the conflict, between the compassion of the military and the firmness of the civil governor, be closed at this hour.

In Bengal, Seraja Dowla was sold to Mir Jaffier; Mir Jaffier was sold to Mir Cossim; and Mir Cossim was sold to Mir Jaffier again. The succession to Mir Jaffier was sold to his eldest son;—another son of Mir Jaffier, Mobarech ul Dowla, was sold to his step-mother—The Maratta empire was sold to Ragoba; and Ragoba was sold and delivered to the Peishwa of the Marattas. Both Ragoba and the Peishwa of the Marattas were offered to sale to the rajah of Berar. Scindia, the chief of Malva, was offered to sale to the same rajah; and the Subah of the Decan was sold to the great trader Mahomet Ali, nabob of Arcot. To the same nabob of Arcot they sold Hyder Ali and the kingdom of Mysore. To Mahomet Ali they twice sold the kingdom of Tanjore. To the same Mahomet Ali they sold at least twelve sovereign princes, called the Polygars. But to keep things even, the territory of Tinnivelly, belonging to their nabob, they would have sold to the Dutch; and to conclude the account of sales, their great customer, the nabob of Arcot himself, and his lawful succession, has been sold to his second son, Amir ul Omrah, whose character, views, and conduct, are in the accounts upon your table. It remains with you whether they shall finally perfect this last bargain.

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All theſe bargains and ſales were regularly attended with the waſte and havock of the country, always by the buyer, and ſometimes by the object of the ſale. This was explained to you by the honourable mover, when he ſtated the mode of paying debts due from the country powers to the company. An honourable gentleman, who is not now in his place, objected to his jumping near two thouſand miles for an example. But the ſouthern example is perfectly applicable to the northern claim, as the northern is to the ſouthern; for, throughout the whole ſpace of theſe two thouſand miles, take your ſtand where you will, the proceeding is perfectly uniform, and what is done in one part will apply exactly to the other.

My ſecond aſſertion is, that the company never has made a treaty which they have not broken. This poſition is ſo connected with that of the ſales of provinces and kingdoms, with the negotiation of univerſal diſtraction in every part of India, that a very minute detail may well be ſpared on this point. It has not yet been contended, by any enemy to the reform, that they have obſerved any publick agreement. When I hear that they have done ſo in any one inſtance (which hitherto, I confeſs, I never heard alleged) I ſhall ſpeak to the particular treaty. The governour general has even amuſed himſelf and the court of directors in a very ſingular letter to that board, in which he admits he has

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has not been very delicate with regard to publick faith; and he goes ſo far as to ſtate a regular eſtimate of the ſums which the company would have loſt, or never acquired, if the rigid ideas of publick faith entertained by his colleagues had been obſerved. *The learned gentleman over againſt me has indeed ſaved me much trouble. On a former occaſion he obtained no ſmall credit, for the clear and forcible manner in which he ſtated what we have not forgot, and I hope he has not forgot, that univerſal ſyſtematick breach of treaties which had made the Britiſh faith proverbial in the Eaſt.

It only remains, Sir, for me juſt to recapitulate ſome heads.—The treaty with the mogul, by which we ſtipulated to pay him 260,000l. annually, was broken. This treaty they have broken, and not paid him a ſhilling. They broke their treaty with him, in which they ſtipulated to pay 400,000l. a year to the ſoubah of Bengal. They agreed with the mogul, for ſervices admitted to have been performed, to pay Nudjif Cawn a penſion. They broke this article with the reſt, and ſtopped alſo this ſmall penſion. They broke their treaties with the nizam, and with Hyder Ali. As to the Marattas, they had ſo many croſs treaties with the ſtates general of that nation, and with each of the chiefs, that it was notorious that no one of theſe agreements could be kept without groſsly violat-

* Mr. Dundas, lord Advocate of Scotland.

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ing the reſt. It was obſerved, that if the terms of theſe ſeveral treaties had been kept, two Britiſh armies would at one and the ſame time have met in the field to cut each other's throats. The wars which deſolate India, originated from a moſt atrocious violation of publick faith on our part. In the midſt of profound peace, the company's troops invaded the Maratta territories, and ſurpriſed the iſland and fortreſs of Salſette. The Marattas nevertheleſs yielded to a treaty of peace, by which ſolid advantages were procured to the company. But this treaty, like every other treaty, was ſoon violated by the company. Again the company invaded the Maratta dominions. The diſaſter that enſued gave occaſion to a new treaty. The whole army of the company was obliged, in effect, to ſurrender to this injured, betrayed, and inſulted people. Juſtly irritated, however, as they were, the terms which they preſcribed were reaſonable and moderate; and their treatment of their captive invaders of the moſt diſtinguiſhed humanity. But the humanity of the Marattas was of no power whatſoever to prevail on the company to attend to the obſervance of the terms dictated by their moderation. The war was renewed with greater vigour than ever; and ſuch was their inſatiable luſt of plunder, that they never would have given ear to any terms of peace, if Hyder Ali had not broke through the Gauts, and ruſhing like a torrent

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rent into the Carnatick, ſwept away every thing in his career. This was in conſequence of that confederacy, which by a ſort of miracle united the moſt diſcordant powers for our deſtruction, as a nation in which no other could put any truſt, and who were the declared enemies of the human ſpecies.

It is very remarkable, that the late controverſy between the ſeveral preſidencies, and between them and the court of directors, with relation to theſe wars and treaties, has not been, which of the parties might be defended for his ſhare in them; but on which of the parties the guilt of all this load of perfidy ſhould be fixed. But I am content to admit all theſe proceedings to be perfectly regular, to be full of honour and good faith; and wiſh to fix your attention ſolely to that ſingle tranſaction which the advocates of this ſyſtem ſelect for ſo tranſcendent a merit as to cancel the guilt of all the reſt of their proceedings; I mean the late treaties with the Marattas.

I make no obſervation on the total ceſſion of territory, by which they ſurrendered all they had obtained by their unhappy ſucceſſes in war, and almoſt all they had obtained under the treaty of Poorunder. The reſtitution was proper, if it had been voluntary and ſeaſonable. I attach on the ſpirit of the treaty, the diſpoſitions it ſhewed, the

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proviſions it made for a general peace, and the faith kept with allies and confederates; in order that the houſe may form a judgment, from this choſen piece, of the uſe which has been made (and is likely to be made, if things continue in the ſame hands) of the truſt of the federal powers of this country.

It was the wiſh of almoſt every Engliſhman, that the Maratta peace might lead to a general one; becauſe the Maratta war was only a part of a general confederacy formed againſt us on account of the univerſal abhorrence of our conduct which prevailed in every ſtate and almoſt in every houſe in India. Mr. Haſtings was obliged to pretend ſome ſort of acquieſcence in this general and rational deſire. He therefore conſented, in order to ſatisfy the point of honour of the Marattas, that an article ſhould be inſerted to admit Hyder Ali to accede to the pacification. But obſerve, Sir, the ſpirit of this man (which if it were not made manifeſt by a thouſand things, and particularly by his proceedings with regard to lord Macartney) would be ſufficiently manifeſt by this—What ſort of article think you does he require this eſſential head of a ſolemn treaty of general pacification to be? In his inſtruction to Mr. Anderſon, he deſires him to admit "a *vague* article" in favour of Hyder. Evaſion and fraud were the declared baſis of

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of the treaty. Theſe *vague* articles, intended for a more vague performance, are the things which have damned our reputation in India.

Hardly was this vague article inſerted, than, without waiting for any act on the part of Hyder, Mr. Haſtings enters into a negotiation with the Maratta chief, Scindia, for a partition of the territories of the prince who was one of the objects to be ſecured by the treaty. He was to be parcelled out in three parts—one to Scindia; one to the peiſhwa of the Marattas; and the third to the Eaſt India company, or to (the old dealer and chapman) Mahomet Ali.

During the formation of this project, Hyder dies; and before his ſon could take any one ſtep, either to conform to the tenour of the article, or to contravene it, the treaty of partition is renewed on the old footing, and an inſtruction is ſent to Mr. Anderſon to conclude it in form.

A circumſtance intervened, during the pendency of this negotiation, to ſet off the good faith of the company with an additional brilliancy, and to make it ſparkle and glow with a variety of ſplendid faces. General Matthews had reduced that moſt valuable part of Hyder's dominions called the Country of Biddenore. When the news reached Mr. Haſtings he inſtructed Mr. Anderſon to contend for an alteration in the treaty of partition, and to take the Biddenore country out of the common

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mon ſtock which was to be divided, and to keep it for the company.

The firſt ground for this variation was its being a ſeparate conqueſt made before the treaty had actually taken place. Here was a new proof given of the fairneſs, equity, and moderation of the company. But the ſecond of Mr. Haſtings's reaſons for retaining the Biddenore as a ſeparate portion, and his conduct on that ſecond ground, is ſtill more remarkable. He aſſerted that that country could not be put into the partition ſtock, becauſe general Matthews had received it on the terms of ſome convention, which might be incompatible with the partition propoſed. This was a reaſon in itſelf both honourable and ſolid; and it ſhewed a regard to faith ſomewhere, and with ſome perſons. But in order to demonſtrate his utter contempt of the plighted faith which was alleged on one part as a reaſon for departing from it on another, and to prove his impetuous deſire for ſowing a new war, even in the prepared ſoil of a general pacification, he directs Mr. Anderſon, if he ſhould find ſtrong difficulties impeding the partition, on the ſcore of the ſubtraction of Biddenore, wholly to abandon that claim, and to conclude the treaty on the original terms. General Matthews's convention was juſt brought forward ſufficiently to demonſtrate to the Marattas the ſlippery hold which they had on their new confederate;

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rate; on the other hand that convention being inſtantly abandoned, the people of India were taught, that no terms on which they can ſurrender to the company are to be regarded when farther conqueſts are in view.

Next, Sir, let me bring before you the pious care that was taken of our allies under that treaty which is the ſubject of the company's applauſes. Theſe allies were Ragonaut Row, for whom we had engaged to find a throne; the Guickwar, (one of the Guzerat princes) who was to be emancipated from the Maratta authority, and to grow great by ſeveral acceſſions of dominion; and laſtly, the rana of Gohud, with whom we had entered into a treaty of partition for eleven ſixteenths of our joint conqueſts. Some of theſe ineſtimable ſecurities, called *vague* articles, were inſerted in favour of them all.

As to the firſt, the unhappy abdicated peiſhwa, and pretender to the Maratta throne, Ragonaut Row was delivered up to his people, with an article for ſafety, and ſome proviſion. This man, knowing how little vague the hatred of his countrymen was towards him, and well appriſed of what black crimes he ſtood accuſed (among which our invaſion of his country would not appear the leaſt) took a mortal alarm at the ſecurity we had provided for him. He was thunderſtruck at the article in his favour, by which he was ſurrendered

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to his enemies. He never had the leaſt notice of the treaty; and it was apprehended that he would fly to the protection of Hyder Ali, or ſome other, diſpoſed or able to protect him. He was therefore not left without comfort; for Mr. Anderſon did him the favour to ſend a ſpecial meſſenger, deſiring him to be of good cheer and to fear nothing. And his old enemy, Scindia, at our requeſt, ſent him a meſſage equally well calculated to quiet his apprehenſions.

By the ſame treaty the Guickwar was to come again, with no better ſecurity, under the dominion of the Maratta ſtate. As to the rana of Gohud, a long negotiation depended for giving him up. At firſt this was refuſed by Mr. Haſtings with great indignation; at another ſtage it was admitted as proper, becauſe he had ſhewn himſelf a moſt perfidious perſon. But at length a method of reconciling theſe extremes was found out, by contriving one of the uſual articles in his favour. What I believe will appear beyond all belief, Mr. Anderſon exchanged the final ratifications of that treaty by which the rana was nominally ſecured in his poſſeſſions, in the camp of the Maratta chief, Scindia, whilſt he was (really, and not nominally) battering the caſtle of Gualior, which we had given, agreeably to treaty, to this deluded ally. Scindia had already reduced the town; and was at the very time, by various detachments, reduc-

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ing, one after another, the fortreſſes of our protected ally, as well as in the act of chaſtiſing all the rajahs who had aſſiſted colonel Carnac in his invaſion. I have ſeen in a letter from Calcutta, that the rana of Gohud's agent would have repreſented theſe hoſtilities (which went hand in hand with the protecting treaty) to Mr. Haſtings; but he was not admitted to his preſence.

In this manner the company has acted with their allies in the Maratta war. But they did not reſt here: the Marattas were fearful leſt the perſons delivered to them by that treaty ſhould attempt to eſcape into the Britiſh territories, and thus might elude the puniſhment intended for them, and by reclaiming the treaty, might ſtir up new diſturbances. To prevent this, they deſired an article to be inſerted in the ſupplemental treaty, to which they had the ready conſent of Mr. Haſtings, and the reſt of the company's repreſentatives in Bengal. It was this, "That the Engliſh and Maratta "governments mutually agree not to afford re- "fuge to any *chiefs*, *merchants*, *or other perſons*, "flying for protection to the territories of the "other." This was readily aſſented to, and aſſented to without any exception whatever, in favour of our ſurrendered allies. On their part a reciprocity was ſtipulated which was not unnatural for a government like the company's to aſk; a government conſcious that many ſubjects had been, and

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would in future be, driven to fly from its juriſdiction.

To complete the ſyſtem of pacifick intention and publick faith, which predominate in theſe treaties, Mr. Haſtings fairly reſolved to put all peace, except on the terms of abſolute conqueſt, wholly out of his own power. For, by an article in this ſecond treaty with Scindia, he binds the company not to make any peace with Tippoo Saheb, without the conſent of the peiſhwa of the Marattas; and binds Scindia to him by a reciprocal engagement. The treaty between France and England obliges us mutually to withdraw our forces, if our allies in India do not accede to the peace within four months; Mr. Haſtings's treaty obliges us to continue the war as long as the peiſhwa thinks fit. We are now in that happy ſituation, that the breach of the treaty with France, or the violation of that with the Marattas, is inevitable; and we have only to take our choice.

My third aſſertion, relative to the abuſe made of the right of war and peace is, that there are none who have ever confided in us who have not been utterly ruined. The examples I have given of Ragonaut Row, of Guickwar, of the rana of Gohud, are recent. There is proof more than enough in the condition of the mogul; in the ſlavery and indigence of the nabob of Oude; the exile of the rajah of Benares; the beggary of the

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nabob of Bengal; the undone and captive condition of the rajah and kingdom of Tanjour; the deſtruction of the polygars; and laſtly, in the deſtruction of the nabob of Arcot himſelf, who, when his dominions were invaded, was found entirely deſtitute of troops, proviſions, ſtores, and (as he aſſerts) of money, being a million in debt to the company, and four millions to others: the many millions which he had extorted from ſo many extirpated princes and their deſolated countries having (as he has frequently hinted) been expended for the ground rent of his manſion-houſe in an alley in the ſuburbs of Madras. Compare the condition of all theſe princes with the power and authority of all the Maratta ſtates; with the independence and dignity of the Soubah of the Decan; and the mighty ſtrength, the reſources, and the manly ſtruggle of Hyder Ali; and then the houſe will diſcover the effects on every power in India, of an eaſy confidence, or of a rooted diſtruſt in the faith of the company.

Theſe are ſome of my reaſons, grounded on the abuſe of the external political truſt of that body, for thinking myſelf not only juſtified, but bound, to declare againſt thoſe chartered rights which produce ſo many wrongs. I ſhould deem myſelf the wickedeſt of men, if any vote of mine could contribute to the continuance of ſo great an evil.

Now, Sir, according to the plan I propoſed, I

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ſhall take notice of the company's internal government, as it is exerciſed firſt on the dependent provinces, and then as it affects thoſe under the direct and immediate authority of that body. And here, Sir, before I enter into the ſpirit of their interiour government, permit me to obſerve to you, upon a few of the many lines of difference which are to be found between the vices of the company's government, and thoſe of the conquerors who preceded us in India; that we may be enabled a little the better to ſee our way in an attempt to the neceſſary reformation.

The ſeveral irruptions of Arabs, Tartars, and Perſians, into India were, for the greater part, ferocious, bloody, and waſteful in the extreme: our entrance into the dominion of that country, was, as generally, with ſmall comparative effuſion of blood; being introduced by various frauds and deluſions, and by taking advantage of the incurable, blind, and ſenſeleſs animoſity, which the ſeveral country powers bear towards each other, rather than by open force. But the difference in favour of the firſt conquerors is this; the Aſiatick conquerors very ſoon abated of their ferocity, becauſe they made the conquered country their own. They roſe or fell with the riſe or fall of the territory they lived in. Fathers there depoſited the hopes of their poſterity; and children there beheld the monuments of their fathers. Here their lot was finally

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finally caſt; and it is the natural wiſh of all, that their lot ſhould not be caſt in a bad land. Poverty, ſterility, and deſolation, are not a recreating proſpect to the eye of man; and there are very few who can bear to grow old among the curſes of a whole people. If their paſſion or their avarice drove the Tartar lords to acts of rapacity or tyranny, there was time enough, even in the ſhort life of man, to bring round the ill effects of an abuſe of power upon the power itſelf. If hoards were made by violence and tyranny, they were ſtill domeſtick hoards; and domeſtick profuſion, or the rapine of a more powerful and prodigal hand, reſtored them to the people. With many diſorders, and with few political checks upon power, nature had ſtill fair play; the ſources of acquiſition were not dried up; and therefore the trade, the manufactures, and the commerce of the country flouriſhed. Even avarice and uſury itſelf operated, both for the preſervation and the employment of national wealth. The huſbandman and manufacturer paid heavy intereſt, but then they augmented the fund from whence they were again to borrow. Their reſources were dearly bought, but they were ſure; and the general ſtock of the community grew by the general effort.

But under the Engliſh government all this order is reverſed. The Tartar invaſion was miſchievous; but it is our protection that deſtroys India. It

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was their enmity, but it is our friendſhip. Our conqueſt there, after twenty years, is as crude as it was the firſt day. The natives ſcarcely know what it is to ſee the grey head of an Engliſhman. Young men (boys almoſt) govern there, without ſociety, and without ſympathy with the natives. They have no more ſocial habits with the people, than if they ſtill reſided in England; nor indeed any ſpecies of intercourſe but that which is neceſſary to making a ſudden fortune, with a view to a remote ſettlement. Animated with all the avarice of age, and all the impetuoſity of youth, they roll in one after another; wave after wave; and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endleſs, hopeleſs proſpect of new flights of birds of prey and paſſage, with appetites continually renewing for a food that is continually waſting. Every rupee of profit made by an Engliſhman is loſt for ever to India. With us are no retributory ſuperſtitions, by which a foundation of charity compenſates, through ages, to the poor, for the rapine and injuſtice of a day. With us no pride erects ſtately monuments which repair the miſchiefs which pride had produced, and which adorn a country out of its own ſpoils. England has erected no churches, no hoſpitals,* no palaces, no ſchools; England has built no bridges, made no

* The paltry foundation at Calcutta is ſcarcely worth naming as an exception.

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high roads, cut no navigations, dug out no reſervoirs. Every other conqueror of every other deſcription has left ſome monument, either of ſtate or beneficence, behind him. Were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain, to tell that it had been poſſeſſed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any thing better than the ouran-outang or the tiger.

There is nothing in the boys we ſend to India worſe, than in the boys whom we are whipping at ſchool, or that we ſee trailing a pike, or bending over a deſk at home. But as Engliſh youth in India drink the intoxicating draught of authority and dominion before their heads are able to bear it, and as they are full grown in fortune long before they are ripe in principle, neither nature nor reaſon have any opportunity to exert themſelves for remedy of the exceſſes of their premature power. The conſequences of their conduct, which in good minds, (and many of theirs are probably ſuch) might produce penitence or amendment, are unable to purſue the rapidity of their flight. Their prey is lodged in England; and the cries of India are given to ſeas and winds, to be blown about, in every breaking up of the monſoon, over a remote and unhearing ocean. In India all the vices operate by which ſudden fortune is acquired; in England are often diſplayed by the ſame perſons, the virtues which diſpenſe hereditary wealth. Arrived

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rived in England, the deſtroyers of the nobility and gentry of a whole kingdom will find the beſt company in this nation, at a board of elegance and hoſpitality. Here the manufacturer and huſbandman will bleſs the juſt and punctual hand that in India has torn the cloth from the loom, or wreſted the ſcanty portion of rice and ſalt from the peaſant of Bengal, or wrung from him the very opium in which he forgot his oppreſſions and his oppreſſor. They marry into your families; they enter into your ſenate; they eaſe your eſtates by loans; they raiſe their value by demand; they cheriſh and protect your relations which lie heavy on your patronage; and there is ſcarcely an houſe in the kingdom that does not feel ſome concern and intereſt that makes all reform of our eaſtern government appear officious and diſguſting; and on the whole, a moſt diſcouraging attempt. In ſuch an attempt you hurt thoſe who are able to return kindneſs, or to reſent injury. If you ſucceed, you ſave thoſe who cannot ſo much as give you thanks. All theſe things ſhew the difficulty of the work we have on hand: but they ſhew its neceſſity too. Our Indian government is in its beſt ſtate a grievance. It is neceſſary that the correctives ſhould be uncommonly vigorous; and the work of men, ſanguine, warm, and even impaſſioned in the cauſe. But it is an arduous thing to plead againſt abuſes of a power which originates from your own country,

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country, and affects thoſe whom we are uſed to conſider as ſtrangers.

I ſhall certainly endeavour to modulate myſelf to this temper; though I am ſenſible that a cold ſtyle of deſcribing actions which appear to me in a very affecting light, is equally contrary to the juſtice due to the people, and to all genuine human feelings about them. I aſk pardon of truth and nature for this compliance. But I ſhall be very ſparing of epithets either to perſons or things. It has been ſaid (and, with regard to one of them, with truth) that Tacitus and Machiavel, by their cold way of relating enormous crimes, have in ſome ſort appeared not to diſapprove them; that they ſeem a ſort of profeſſors of the art of tyranny, and that they corrupt the minds of their readers, by not expreſſing the deteſtation and horrour that naturally belong to horrible and deteſtable proceedings. But we are in general, Sir, ſo little acquainted with Indian details; the inſtruments of oppreſſion under which the people ſuffer are ſo hard to be underſtood; and even the very names of the ſufferers are ſo uncouth and ſtrange to our ears, that it is very difficult for our ſympathy to fix upon theſe objects. I am ſure that ſome of us have come down ſtairs from the committee-room, with impreſſions on our minds, which to us were the inevitable reſults of our diſcoveries, yet if we ſhould venture to expreſs ourſelves, in the proper language

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language of our ſentiments, to other gentlemen, not at all prepared to enter into the cauſe of them, nothing could appear more harſh and diſſonant, more violent and unaccountable, than our language and behaviour. All theſe circumſtances are not, I confeſs, very favourable to the idea of our attempting to govern India at all. But there we are; there we are placed by the Sovereign Diſpoſer; and we muſt do the beſt we can in our ſituation. The ſituation of man is the preceptor of his duty.

Upon the plan which I laid down, and to which I beg leave to return, I was conſidering the conduct of the company to thoſe nations which are indirectly ſubject to their authority. The moſt conſiderable of the dependent princes is the nabob of Oude. *My right honourable friend, to whom we owe the remedial bills on your table, has already pointed out to you, in one of the reports, the condition of that prince, and as it ſtood in the time he alluded to. I ſhall only add a few circumſtances that may tend to awaken ſome ſenſe of the manner in which the condition of the people is affected by that of the prince, and involved in it; and to ſhew you, that when we talk of the ſufferings of princes, we do not lament the oppreſſion of individuals; and that in theſe caſes the high and the low ſuffer together.

* Mr. Fox,

In

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In the year 1779, the nabob of Oude represented, through the British resident at his court, that the number of company's troops stationed in his dominions was a main cause of his distress; and that all those which he was not bound by treaty to maintain should be withdrawn, as they had greatly diminished his revenue, and impoverished his country. I will read you, if you please, a few extracts from these representations.

He states, "that the country and cultivation "are abandoned; and this year in particular, "from the excessive drought of the season, deduc- "tions of many lacks having been allowed to the "farmers, who are still left unsatisfied;" and then he proceeds with a long detail of his own distress, and that of his family, and all his dependants; and adds, "that the new-raised brigade is not "only quite useless to my government, but is "moreover the cause of much loss, both in reve- "nues and customs. The detached body of troops "under European officers bring nothing *but con- "fusion to the affairs of my government, and are en- "tirely their own masters.*" Mr. Middleton, Mr. Hastings's confidential resident, vouches for the truth of this representation in its fullest extent. "I am concerned to confess, that there is too good "ground for this plea. *The misfortune has been* "*general throughout the whole of the vizier's* [the "nabob of Oude] *dominions*, obvious to every "body;

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" body; and ſo *fatal* have been its conſequences, " that no perſon of either credit or character, " would enter into engagements with government " for farming the country." He then proceeds to give ſtrong inſtances of the general calamity, and its effects.

It was now to be ſeen what ſteps the governor-general and council took for the relief of this diſtreſſed country, long labouring under the vexations of men, and now ſtricken by the hand of God. The caſe of a general famine is known to relax the ſeverity even of the moſt rigorous government.—Mr. Haſtings does not deny, or ſhew the leaſt doubt of the fact. The repreſentation is humble, and almoſt abject. On this repreſentation from a great prince of the diſtreſs of his ſubjects, Mr. Haſtings falls into a violent paſſion; ſuch (as it ſeems) would be unjuſtifiable in any one who ſpeaks of any part of *his* conduct. He declares, " that the *demands*, the *tone* in which they were " aſſerted, and the *ſeaſon* in which they were " made, are all equally alarming, and appear to " him to require an adequate degree of firmneſs " in this board, in *oppoſition* to them." He proceeds to deal out very unreſerved language, on the perſon and character of the nabob and his miniſters. He declares, that in a diviſion between him and the nabob, " *the ſtrongeſt muſt decide.*" With regard to the urgent and inſtant neceſſity, from

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from the failure of the crops, he ſays, "that *per-*
"*haps* expedients *may be found* for affording a
"*gradual* relief from the burthen of which he ſo
"heavily complains, and it ſhall be my endeavour
"to ſeek them out:" and leſt he ſhould be ſuſ-
pected of too much haſte to alleviate ſufferings,
and to remove violence, he ſays, "that theſe muſt
"be *gradually* applied, and their complete *effect*
"may be *diſtant*; and this I conceive *is all* he can
"claim of right."

This complete effect of his lenity is diſtant in-
deed. Rejecting this demand, (as he calls the na-
bob's abject ſupplication) he attributes it, as he
uſually does all things of the kind, to the diviſion
in their government; and ſays, "this is a power-
"ful motive with *me* (however inclined I might
"be, *upon any other occaſion*, to yield to ſome *part*
"of his demand) to give them an *abſolute and un-*
"*conditional refuſal* upon the preſent; and even *to*
"*bring to puniſhment, if my influence can produce that*
"*effect, thoſe incendiaries who have endeavoured to*
"*make themſelves the inſtruments of diviſion between*
"*us.*"

Here, Sir, is much heat and paſſion; but no
more conſideration of the diſtreſs of the country,
from a failure of the means of ſubſiſtence, and (if
poſſible) the worſe evil of an uſeleſs and licentious
ſoldiery, than if they were the moſt contemptible
of all trifles. A letter is written in conſequence,

in

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in ſuch a ſtyle of lofty deſpotiſm, as I believe has hitherto been unexampled and unheard-of in the records of the Eaſt. The troops were continued. The *gradual* relief, whoſe effect was to be ſo *diſtant*, has *never* been ſubſtantially and beneficially applied—and the country is ruined.

Mr. Haſtings, two years after, when it was too late, ſaw the abſolute neceſſity of a removal of the intolerable grievance of this licentious ſoldiery, which, under pretence of defending it, held the country under military execution. A new treaty and arrangement, according to the pleaſure of Mr. Haſtings, took place; and this new treaty was broken in the old manner, in every eſſential article. The ſoldiery were again ſent, and again ſet looſe. The effect of all his manœuvres, from which it ſeems he was ſanguine enough to entertain hopes, upon the ſtate of the country, he himſelf informs us, "the event has proved the *reverſe* "of his hopes, and *accumulation of diſtreſs, debaſe-* "*ment, and diſſatisfaction* to the nabob, and *diſ-* "*appointment and diſgrace to me.*—Every meaſure "[which he had himſelf propoſed] has been *ſo* "*conducted* as to give him cauſe of diſpleaſure; "there are no officers eſtabliſhed by which his af- "fairs could be regularly conducted; mean, in- "capable, and indigent men have been appointed. "A number of the diſtricts without authority, "and without the means of perſonal protection;

"ſome

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"ſome of them have been murdered by the ze-
"mindars, and thoſe zemindars, inſtead of pu-
"niſhment, have been permitted to retain their
"zemindaries, with independent authority; *all*
"the other zemindars ſuffered to riſe up in rebel-
"lion, and to inſult the authority of the ſircar,
"without any attempt made to ſuppreſs them;
"and the company's debt, inſtead of being diſ-
"charged by the aſſignments and extraordinary
"ſources of money provided for that *purpoſe, is*
"*likely to exceed even the amount at which it ſtood at*
"*the time in which the arrangement with his excellency*
"*was concluded.*" The houſe will ſmile at the re-
ſource on which the directors take credit as ſuch a certainty in their curious account.

This is Mr. Haſtings's own narrative of the effects of his own ſettlement. This is the ſtate of the country which we have been told is in perfect peace and order; and, what is curious, he informs us, that *every part of this was foretold to him in the order and manner in which it happened*, at the very time he made his arrangement of men and meaſures.

The invariable courſe of the company's policy is this: Either they ſet up ſome prince too odious to maintain himſelf without the neceſſity of their aſſiſtance; or they ſoon render him odious, by making him the inſtrument of their government. In that caſe troops are bountifully ſent to him to

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maintain his authority. That he ſhould have no want of aſſiſtance, a civil gentleman, called a reſident, is kept at his court, who, under pretence of providing duly for the pay of theſe troops, gets aſſignments on the revenue into his hands. Under his provident management, debts ſoon accumulate; new aſſignments are made for theſe debts; until, ſtep by ſtep, the whole revenue, and with it the whole power of the country, is delivered into his hands. The military do not behold without a virtuous emulation the moderate gains of the civil department. They feel that, in a country driven to habitual rebellion by the civil government, the military is neceſſary; and they will not permit their ſervices to go unrewarded. Tracts of country are delivered over to their diſcretion. Then it is found proper to convert their commanding officers into farmers of revenue. Thus between the well paid civil, and well-rewarded military eſtabliſhment, the ſituation of the natives may be eaſily conjectured. The authority of the regular and lawful government is every where and in every point extinguiſhed. Diſorders and violences ariſe; they are repreſſed by other diſorders and other violences. Wherever the collectors of the revenue, and the farming colonels and majors move, ruin is about them, rebellion before and behind them. The people in crowds fly out of the country; and the frontier is guarded by lines of troops,

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troops, not to exclude an enemy, but to prevent the eſcape of the inhabitants.

By theſe means, in the courſe of not more than four or five years, this once opulent and flouriſhing country, which, by the accounts given in the Bengal conſultations, yielded more than three crore of Sicca rupees, that is, above three millions ſterling annually, is reduced, as far as I can diſcover, in a matter purpoſely involved in the utmoſt perplexity, to leſs than one million three hundred thouſand pounds, and that exacted by every mode of rigour that can be deviſed. To complete the buſineſs, moſt of the wretched remnants of this revenue are mortgaged, and delivered into the hands of the uſurers at Benares (for there alone are to be found ſome lingering remains of the ancient wealth of theſe regions) at an intereſt of near *thirty per cent. per annum.*

The revenues in this manner failing, they ſeized upon the eſtates of every perſon of eminence in the country, and under the name of *reſumption*, confiſcated their property. I wiſh, Sir, to be underſtood univerſally and literally, when I aſſert, that there is not left one man of property and ſubſtance for his rank, in the whole of theſe provinces, in provinces which are nearly the extent of England and Wales taken together. Not one landholder, not one banker, not one merchant, not one even of thoſe who uſually periſh

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laſt, the *ultimum moriens* in a ruined ſtate, not one farmer of revenue.

One country for a while remained, which ſtood as an iſland in the midſt of the grand waſte of the company's dominion. My right honourable friend, in his admirable ſpeech on moving the bill, juſt touched the ſituation, the offences, and the puniſhment of a native prince, called Fizulla Khân. This man, by policy and force, had protected himſelf from the general extirpation of the Rohilla chiefs. He was ſecured (if that were any ſecurity) by a treaty. It was ſtated to you, as it was ſtated by the enemies of that unfortunate man—"that "the whole of his country *is* what the whole "country of the Rohillas *was*, cultivated like a "garden, without one neglected ſpot in it."—Another accuſer ſays, "Fyzoolah Khan, though "a bad ſoldier, [that is the true ſource of his mis-"fortune] has approved himſelf a good aumil; "having, it is ſuppoſed, in the courſe of a few "years, at leaſt *doubled* the population and revenue "of his country."—In another part of the correſpondence he is charged with making his country an aſylum for the oppreſſed peaſants, who fly from the territories of Oude. The improvement of his revenue, ariſing from this ſingle crime, (which Mr. Haſtings conſiders as tantamount to treaſon) is ſtated at an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a year.

Dr.

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Dr. Swift ſomewhere ſays, that he who could make two blades of graſs grow where but one grew before, was a greater benefactor to the human race than all the politicians that ever exiſted. This prince, who would have been deified by antiquity, who would have been ranked with Oſiris, and Bacchus, and Ceres, and the divinities moſt propitious to men, was, for thoſe very merits, by name attacked by the company's government, as a cheat, a robber, a traitor. In the ſame breath in which he was accuſed as a rebel, he was ordered at once to furniſh 5,000 horſe. On delay, or (according to the technical phraſe, when any remonſtrance is made to them) "*on evaſion*," he was declared a violator of treaties, and every thing he had was to be taken from him.—Not one word, however, of horſe in this treaty.

The territory of this Fizulla Khân, Mr. Speaker, is leſs than the county of Norfolk. It is an inland country, full ſeven hundred miles from any ſeaport, and not diſtinguiſhed for any one conſiderable branch of manufacture whatſoever. From this territory ſeveral very conſiderable ſums had at ſeveral times been paid to the Britiſh reſident. The demand of cavalry, without a ſhadow or decent pretext of right, amounted to three hundred thouſand a year more, at the loweſt computation; and it is ſtated, by the laſt perſon ſent to negotiate, as a demand of little uſe, if it could be complied

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with; but that the compliance was impoſſible, as it amounted to more than his territories could ſupply, if there had been no other demand upon him —three hundred thouſand pounds a year from an inland country not ſo large as Norfolk!

The thing moſt extraordinary was to hear the culprit defend himſelf from the imputation of his virtues, as if they had been the blackeſt offences. He extenuated the ſuperiour cultivation of his country. He denied its population. He endeavoured to prove that he had often ſent back the poor peaſant that ſought ſhelter with him.—I can make no obſervation on this.

After a variety of extortions and vexations, too fatiguing to you, too diſguſting to me, to go through with, they found "that they ought to "be in a better ſtate to warrant forcible means;" they therefore contented themſelves with a groſs ſum of 150,000 pounds for their preſent demand. They offered him indeed an indemnity from their exactions in future for three hundred thouſand pounds more. But he refuſed to buy their ſecurities; pleading (probably with truth) his poverty: but if the plea were not founded, in my opinion very wiſely; not chooſing to deal any more in that dangerous commodity of the company's faith; and thinking it better to oppoſe diſtreſs and unarmed obſtinacy to uncoloured exaction, than to ſubject himſelf to be conſidered as a cheat, if he ſhould

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ſhould make a treaty in the leaſt beneficial to himſelf.

Thus they executed an exemplary puniſhment on Fizulla Khân for the culture of his country. But, conſcious that the prevention of evils is the great object of all good regulation, they deprived him of the means of increaſing that criminal cultivation in future, by exhauſting his coffers; and, that the population of his country ſhould no more be a ſtanding reproach and libel on the company's government, they bound him, by a poſitive engagement, not to afford any ſhelter whatſoever to the farmers and labourers who ſhould ſeek refuge in his territories, from the exactions of the Britiſh reſidents in Oude. When they had done all this effectually, they gave him a full and complete acquittance from all charges of rebellion, or of any intention to rebel, or of his having originally had any intereſt in, or any means of rebellion.

Theſe intended rebellions are one of the company's ſtanding reſources. When money has been thought to be heaped up any where, its owners are univerſally accuſed of rebellion, until they are acquitted of their money and their treaſons at once. The money once taken, all accuſation, trial, and puniſhment ends. It is ſo ſettled a reſource, that I rather wonder how it comes to be omitted in the directors account; but I take it for granted this omiſſion will be ſupplied in their next edition.

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The company ſtretched this reſource to the full extent, when they accuſed two old women, in the remoteſt corner of India (who could have no poſſible view or motive to raiſe diſturbances) of being engaged in rebellion, with an intent to drive out the Engliſh nation, in whoſe protection, purchaſed by money and ſecured by treaty, reſted the ſole hope of their exiſtence. But the company wanted money, and the old women *muſt* be guilty of a plot. They were accuſed of rebellion, and they were convicted of wealth. Twice had great ſums been extorted from them, and as often had the Britiſh faith guaranteed the remainder. A body of Britiſh troops, with one of the military farmers general at their head, was ſent to ſeize upon the caſtle in which theſe helpleſs women reſided. Their chief eunuchs, who were their agents, their guardians, protectors, perſons of high rank according to the Eaſtern manners, and of great truſt, were thrown into dungeons, to make them diſcover their hidden treaſures; and there they lie at preſent. The lands aſſigned for the maintenance of the women were ſeized and confiſcated. Their jewels and effects were taken, and ſet up to a pretended auction in an obſcure place, and bought at ſuch a price as the gentlemen thought proper to give. No account has ever been tranſmitted of the articles or produce of this ſale. What money was obtained is unknown, or what terms were ſtipulated

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ſtipulated for the maintenance of theſe deſpoiled and forlorn creatures; for by ſome particulars it appears as if an engagement of the kind was made.

Let me here remark, once for all, that though the act of 1773 requires that an account of all proceedings ſhould be diligently tranſmitted, that this like all the other injunctions of the law, is totally deſpiſed; and that half at leaſt of the moſt important papers are intentionally withheld.

I wiſh you, Sir, to advert particularly, in this tranſaction, to the quality and the numbers of the perſons ſpoiled, and the inſtrument by whom that ſpoil was made. Theſe ancient matrons called the Begums, or Princeſſes, were of the firſt birth and quality in India, the one mother, the other wife, of the late nabob of Oude, Sujah Dowlah, a prince poſſeſſed of extenſive and flouriſhing dominions, and the ſecond man in the Mogul empire. This prince (ſuſpicious, and not unjuſtly ſuſpicious, of his ſon and ſucceſſor) at his death committed his treaſures and his family to the Britiſh faith. That family and houſehold, conſiſted of *two thouſand women*; to which were added two other ſeraglios of near kindred, and ſaid to be extremely numerous, and (as I am well informed) of about fourſcore of the nabob's children, with all the eunuchs, the ancient ſervants, and a multitude of the dependants

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pendants of his ſplendid court. Theſe were all to be provided, for preſent maintenance and future eſtabliſhment, from the lands aſſigned as dower, and from the treaſures which he left to theſe matrons, in truſt for the whole family.

So far as to the objects of the ſpoil. The *inſtrument* choſen by Mr. Haſtings to deſpoil the relict of Sujah Dowlah was *her own ſon*, the reigning nabob of Oude. It was the pious hand of a ſon that was ſelected to tear from his mother and grandmother the proviſion of their age, the maintenance of his brethren, and of all the ancient houſehold of his father. [Here a laugh from ſome young members]—The laugh is *ſeaſonable*, and the occaſion decent and proper.

By the laſt advices ſomething of the ſum extorted remained unpaid. The women in deſpair refuſed to deliver more, unleſs their lands are reſtored, and their miniſters releaſed from priſon: but Mr. Haſtings and his council, ſteady to their point, and conſiſtent to the laſt in their conduct, write to the reſident to ſtimulate the ſon to accompliſh the filial acts he had brought ſo near to their perfection. "We deſire," ſay they in their letter to the reſident, (written ſo late as March laſt) "that "you will inform us if any, and what means, "have been taken for recovering the balance due "from the Begum [Princeſs] at Fizabad; and "that,

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"that, if neceſſary, you *recommend* it to the vizier "to enforce *the moſt effectual means* for that pur-"poſe."

What their effectual means of enforcing demands on women of high rank and condition are, I ſhall ſhew you, Sir, in a few minutes; when I repreſent to you another of theſe plots and rebellions, which *always*, in India, though ſo *rarely* any where elſe, are the offspring of an eaſy condition, and hoarded riches.

Benares is the capital city of the Indian religion. It is regarded as holy by a particular and diſtinguiſhed ſanctity; and the Gentoos in general think themſelves as much obliged to viſit it once in their lives as the Mahometans to perform their pilgrimage to Mecca. By this means that city grew great in commerce and opulence; and ſo effectually was it ſecured by the pious veneration of that people, that in all wars and in all violences of power, there was ſo ſure an aſylum, both for poverty and wealth, (as it were under a divine protection) that the wiſeſt laws and beſt aſſured free conſtitution could not better provide for the relief of the one, or the ſafety of the other; and this tranquillity influenced to the greateſt degree the proſperity of all the country, and the territory of which it was the capital. The intereſt of money there was not more than half the uſual rate in which it ſtood in all other places. The reports have

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have fully informed you of the means and of the terms in which this city and the territory called Gazipour, of which it was the head, came under the ſovereignty of the Eaſt India company.

If ever there was a ſubordinate dominion pleaſantly circumſtanced to the ſuperiour power, it was this; a large rent or tribute, to the amount of two hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds a year, was paid in monthly inſtalments with the punctuality of a dividend at the bank. If ever there was a prince who could not have an intereſt in diſturbances, it was its ſovereign, the rajah Cheit Sing. He was in poſſeſſion of the capital of his religion, and a willing revenue was paid by the devout people who reſorted to him from all parts. His ſovereignty and his independence, except his tribute, was ſecured by every tie. His territory was not much leſs than half of Ireland, and diſplayed in all parts a degree of cultivation, eaſe, and plenty, under his frugal and paternal management, which left him nothing to deſire, either for honour or ſatisfaction.

This was the light in which this country appeared to almoſt every eye. But Mr. Haſtings beheld it aſkance. Mr. Haſtings tells us that it was *reported* of this Cheit Sing, that his father left him a million ſterling, and that he made annual acceſſions to the hoard. Nothing could be ſo obnoxious to indigent power. So much wealth could not be innocent.

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innocent. The houſe is fully acquainted with the unfounded and unjuſt requiſitions which were made upon this prince. The queſtion has been moſt ably and concluſively cleared up in one of the reports of the ſelect committee, and in an anſwer of the court of directors to an extraordinary publication againſt them by their ſervant, Mr. Haſtings. But I mean to paſs by theſe exactions, as if they were perfectly juſt and regular; and, having admitted them, I take what I ſhall now trouble you with, only as it ſerves to ſhew the ſpirit of the company's government, the mode in which it is carried on, and the maxims on which it proceeds.

Mr. Haſtings, from whom I take the doctrine, endeavours to prove that Cheit Sing was no ſovereign prince; but a mere zemindar or common ſubject, holding land by rent. If this be granted to him, it is next to be ſeen under what terms he is of opinion ſuch a landholder, that is a Britiſh ſubject, holds his life and property under the company's government. It is proper to underſtand well the doctrines of the perſon whoſe adminiſtration has lately received ſuch diſtinguiſhed approbation from the company. His doctrine is—"that "the company, or the *perſon delegated by it*, holds "*an abſolute* authority over ſuch zemindars;—"that he [ſuch a ſubject] owes *an implicit* and *un-*"*reſerved* obedience to its authority, at the *for-*"*feiture* even of his *life* and *property*, at the DIS-"CRETION

" CRETION of thoſe who held *or fully repreſented* " the ſovereign authority;—and that *theſe* rights " are *fully* delegated *to him* Mr. Haſtings."

Such is a Britiſh governour's idea of the condition of a great zemindar holding under a Britiſh authority; and this kind of authority he ſuppoſes fully delegated to *him*; though no ſuch delegation appears in any commiſſion, inſtruction, or act of parliament. At his *diſcretion* he may demand, of the ſubſtance of any zemindar over and above his rent or tribute, even what he pleaſes, with a ſovereign authority; and if he does not yield an *implicit unreſerved* obedience to all his commands, he forfeits his lands, his life, and his property, at Mr. Haſtings's *diſcretion*. But, extravagant, and even frantick as theſe poſitions appear, they are leſs ſo than what I ſhall now read to you; for he aſſerts, that if any one ſhould urge an exemption from more than a ſtated payment, or ſhould conſider the deeds, which paſſed between him and the board, " as bearing *the quality and force* of a treaty " between equal ſtates," he ſays, " that ſuch an " opinion is itſelf criminal to the ſtate of which he " is a ſubject; and that he was himſelf amenable " to its juſtice, if he gave *countenance* to ſuch a " *belief*." Here is a new ſpecies of crime invented, that of countenancing a belief—but a belief of what? A belief of that which the court of directors, Haſtings's maſters, and a committee of this houſe,

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houſe, have decided as this prince's indiſputable right.

But ſuppoſing the rajah of Benares to be a mere ſubject, and that ſubject a criminal of the higheſt form; let us ſee what courſe was taken by an upright Engliſh magiſtrate. Did he cite this culprit before his tribunal? Did he make a charge? Did he produce witneſſes? Theſe are not forms; they are parts of ſubſtantial and eternal juſtice. No, not a word of all this, Mr. Haſtings concludes him, *in his own mind*, to be guilty; he makes this concluſion on reports, on hearſays, on appearances, on rumours, on conjectures, on preſumptions; and even theſe never once hinted to the party, nor publickly to any human being, till the whole buſineſs was done.

But the governour tells you his motive for this extraordinary proceeding, ſo contrary to every mode of juſtice towards either a prince or a ſubject, fairly and without diſguiſe; and he puts into your hands the key of his whole conduct:—"I "will ſuppoſe, for a moment, that I have acted "with unwarrantable rigour towards Cheit Sing, "and even with injuſtice.—Let my MOTIVE be "conſulted. I left Calcutta, impreſſed with a be-"lief that *extraordinary means* were neceſſary, and "thoſe exerted with a *ſteady hand*, to preſerve the "company's *intereſts from ſinking under the accumu-*

"*lated*

" *lated weight which oppreſſed them.* I ſaw a *political* " *neceſſity* for curbing the *overgrown* power of a " great member of their dominion, and *for mak-* " *ing it contribute to the relief of their preſſing exi-* " *gencies.*" This is plain ſpeaking; after this, it is no wonder that the rajah's wealth and his offence, the neceſſities of the judge, and the opulence of the delinquent, are never ſeparated, through the whole of Mr. Haſtings's apology. " The juſ- " tice and *policy* of exacting *a large pecuniary mulct.*" The reſolution " *to draw from his guilt* the means " *of relief to the company's diſtreſſes.*" His determination " to make him *pay largely* for his pardon, " or to execute a ſevere vengeance for paſt delin- " quency." That " as his *wealth was great*, and " the *company's exigencies* preſſing, he thought it a " meaſure of juſtice and policy to exact from him " a large pecuniary mulct for *their relief.*"—" The " ſum (ſays Mr. Wheler, bearing evidence, at his deſire, to his intentions) "to which the governour " declared his reſolution to extend his fine, was " forty or fifty lacks, *that is four or five hundred* " *thouſand pounds*; and that if he refuſed, he was " to be removed from his zemindary entirely; or " by taking poſſeſſion of his forts, to obtain, *out of* " *the treaſure depoſited in them*, the above ſum for " the company."

Crimes ſo convenient, crimes ſo politick, crimes ſo

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ſo neceſſary, crimes ſo alleviating of diſtreſs, can never be wanting to thoſe who uſe no proceſs, and who produce no proofs.

But there is another ſerious part (what is not ſo?) in this affair. Let us ſuppoſe that the power, for which Mr. Haſtings contends, a power which no ſovereign ever did, or ever can veſt in any of his ſubjects, namely, his own ſovereign authority, to be conveyed by the act of parliament to any man or body of men whatſoever; it certainly was never given to Mr. Haſtings. The powers given by the act of 1773 were formal and official; they were given not to the governour general, but to the major vote of the board, as a board, on diſcuſſion amongſt themſelves, in their publick character and capacity; and their acts in that character and capacity were to be aſcertained by records and minutes of council. The deſpotick acts exerciſed by Mr. Haſtings were done merely in his *private* character; and, if they had been moderate and juſt, would ſtill be the acts of an uſurped authority, and without any one of the legal modes of proceeding which could give him competence for the moſt trivial exertion of power. There was no propoſition or deliberation whatſoever in council, no minute on record, by circulation or otherwiſe, to authorize his proceedings. No delegation of power to impoſe a fine, or to take any ſtep to deprive the rajah of Benares of his government, his

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property, or his liberty. The minutes of conſultation aſſign to his journey a totally different object, duty, and deſtination. Mr. Wheler, at his deſire, tells us long after, that he had a confidential converſation with him on various ſubjects, of which this was the principal, in which Mr. Haſtings notified to him his ſecret intentions; "and "that he *beſpoke* his ſupport of the meaſures which "he intended to purſue towards him (the rajah.)" This confidential diſcourſe, and *beſpeaking* of ſupport, could give him no power, in oppoſition to an expreſs act of parliament, and the whole tenour of the orders of the court of directors.

In what manner the powers thus uſurped were employed, is known to the whole world. All the houſe knows, that the deſign on the rajah proved as unfruitful as it was violent. The unhappy prince was expelled, and his more unhappy country was enſlaved and ruined; but not a rupee was acquired. Inſtead of treaſure to recruit the company's finances, waſted by their wanton wars and corrupt jobs, they were plunged into a new war which ſhook their power in India to its foundation; and, to uſe the governor's own happy ſimile, might have diſſolved it like a magick ſtructure, if the taliſman had been broken.

But the ſucceſs is no part of my conſideration, who ſhould think juſt the ſame of this buſineſs, if the ſpoil of one rajah had been fully acquired, and faithfully

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faithfully applied to the deſtruction of twenty other rajahs. Not only the arreſt of the rajah in his palace was unneceſſary and unwarrantable, and calculated to ſtir up any manly blood which remained in his ſubjects; but the deſpotick ſtyle, and the extreme inſolence of language and demeanour, uſed to a perſon of great condition among the politeſt people in the world, was intolerable. Nothing aggravates tyranny ſo much as contumely. *Quicquid ſuperbia in contumeliis* was charged by a great man of antiquity, as a principal head of offence againſt the governour general of that day. The unhappy people were ſtill more inſulted. A relation, but an *enemy* to the family, a notorious robber and villain, called Uffaun Sing, kept as a hawk in a mew, to fly upon this nation, was ſet up to govern there, inſtead of a prince honoured and beloved. But when the buſineſs of inſult was accompliſhed, the revenue was too ſerious a concern to be entruſted to ſuch hands. Another was ſet up in his place, as guardian to an infant.

But here, Sir, mark the effect of all theſe *extraordinary* means, of all this policy and juſtice. The revenues which had been hitherto paid with ſuch aſtoniſhing punctuality, fell into arrear. The new prince guardian was depoſed without ceremony; and with as little, caſt into priſon. The government of that once happy country has been in the utmoſt confuſion ever ſince ſuch good order was

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taken about it. But, to complete the contumely offered to this undone people, and to make them feel their ſervitude in all its degradation, and all its bitterneſs, the government of their ſacred city the government of that Benares which had been ſo reſpected by Perſian and Tartar conquerors, though of the Muſſulman perſuaſion, that, even in the plenitude of their pride, power and bigotry, no magiſtrate of that ſect entered the place, was now delivered over by Engliſh hands to a Mahometan; and an Ali Ibrahim Khân was introduced, under the company's authority, with power of life and death, into the ſanctuary of the Gentoo religion.

After this, the taking off a ſlight payment, cheerfully made by pilgrims to a chief of their own rites, was repreſented as a mighty benefit. It remains only to ſhew, through the conduct in this buſineſs, the ſpirit of the company's government, and the reſpect they pay towards other prejudices not leſs regarded in the eaſt than thoſe of religion; I mean the reverence paid to the female ſex in general, and particularly to women of high rank and condition. During the general confuſion of the country of Gazypore, Panna, the mother of Cheit Sing, was lodged with her train in a caſtle called Bidgé Gur, in which were likewiſe depoſited a large portion of the treaſures of her ſon, or more probably her own. To whomſoever they belonged

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belonged was indifferent; for though no charge of rebellion was made on this woman (which was rather ſingular, as it would have coſt nothing) they were reſolved to ſecure her with her fortune. The caſtle was beſieged by major Popham.

There was no great reaſon to apprehend that ſoldiers ill paid, that ſoldiers who thought they had been defrauded of their plunder on former ſervices of the ſame kind, would not have been ſufficiently attentive to the ſpoil they were expreſsly come for; but the gallantry and generoſity of the profeſſion was juſtly ſuſpected, as being likely to ſet bounds to military rapaciouſneſs. The company's firſt civil magiſtrate diſcovered the greateſt uneaſineſs leſt the women ſhould have any thing preſerved to them. Terms, tending to put ſome reſtraint on military violence, were granted. He writes a letter to Mr. Popham, referring to ſome letter written before to the ſame effect, which I do not remember to have ſeen; but it ſhews his anxiety on this ſubject. Hear himſelf:—"I think *every* "demand ſhe has made on you, except that of "ſafety and reſpect to her perſon, is unreaſonable. "If the reports brought to me are true, your re"jecting her offers, or *any negotiation*, would ſoon "obtain you the fort upon your own terms. I "apprehend ſhe will attempt to *defraud the captors "of a conſiderable part of their booty, by being ſuffered "to retire without examination.* But this is your

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" concern, not mine. I ſhould *be very ſorry* that " your officers and ſoldiers loſt *any* part of the re- " ward to which they are ſo well entitled; but " you muſt be the beſt judge of the *promiſed* indul- " gence to the ranny: what you have engaged " for I will certainly ratify; but as to ſuffering the " ranny to hold the purgunna of Hurlich, or any " other zemindary, without being ſubject to the " authority of the zemindar, *or any lands whatſo-* " *ever*, or indeed making *any* condition with her " for a *proviſion*, I will *never conſent*."

Here your governour ſtimulates a rapacious and licentious ſoldiery to the perſonal ſearch of women, leſt theſe unhappy creatures ſhould avail themſelves of the protection of their ſex to ſecure any ſupply for their neceſſities; and he poſitively orders that no ſtipulation ſhould be made for any proviſion for them. The widow and mother of a prince, well informed of her miſerable ſituation, and the cauſe of it, a woman of this rank became a ſup- pliant to the domeſtick ſervant of Mr. Haſtings (they are his own words that I read;) " imploring " his interceſſion, that ſhe may be relieved *from* " *the hardſhips and dangers of her preſent ſituation*; " and offering to ſurrender the fort, and the *trea-* " *ſure and valuable effects contained* in it, provided " ſhe can be aſſured *of ſafety and protection to her* " *perſon and honour*, and to that of her family and " attendants." He is ſo good as to conſent to this,

" provided

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" provided ſhe ſurrenders every thing of value,
" with the reſerve *only* of ſuch articles as *you* ſhall
" think *neceſſary* to her condition, or as you *your-*
" *ſelf* ſhall be diſpoſed to indulge her with.—But
" ſhould ſhe refuſe to execute the promiſe ſhe has
" made, or delay it beyond the term of twenty-
" four hours, it is *my poſitive* injunction, that you
" immediately put a ſtop to any further inter-
" courſe or negotiation with her, and on no pre-
" text renew it. If ſhe diſappoints or *trifles* with
" me, after I have ſubjected *my duan* to the diſ-
" grace of returning ineffectually, and of courſe
" myſelf to diſcredit, I ſhall conſider it as a *wanton*
" affront and indignity *which I can never forgive;*
" nor will I grant her *any* conditions whatever,
" but leave her expoſed *to thoſe* dangers which ſhe
" has choſen to riſk, rather than truſt to the
" clemency and generoſity of our government. I
" think ſhe cannot be ignorant of theſe conſe-
" quences, and will not venture to incur them;
" and it is for this reaſon I place a dependance on
" her offers, and have conſented to ſend my duan
" to her." The dreadful ſecret hinted at by the merciful governour in the latter part of the letter, is well underſtood in India; where thoſe who ſuffer corporeal indignities, generally expiate the offences of others with their own blood. However, in ſpite of all theſe, the temper of the military did, ſome way or other, operate. They came to terms

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which have never been tranſmitted. It appears that a fifteenth *per cent.* of the plunder was reſerved to the captives, of which the unhappy mother of the prince of Benares was to have a ſhare. This ancient matron, born to better things [a laugh from certain young gentlemen]—I ſee no cauſe for this mirth. A good author of antiquity reckons among the calamities of his time, *Nobiliſſimarum fœminarum exilia et fugas.* I ſay, Sir, this ancient lady was compelled to quit her houſe with three hundred helpleſs women, and a multitude of children in her train; but the lower ſort in the camp it ſeems could not be reſtrained. They did not forget the good leſſons of the governour general. They were unwilling "to be defrauded of a con-"ſiderable part of their booty, by ſuffering them "to paſs without examination."—They examined them, Sir, with a vengeance, and the ſacred protection of that awful character, Mr. Haſtings's maitre d'hotel, could not ſecure them from inſult, and plunder. Here is Popham's narrative of the affair:—"The ranny came out of the fort, with her "family and dependants, the 10th at night, owing "to which ſuch attention was not paid to her as "I wiſhed; and I am exceedingly ſorry to inform "you, that the *licentiouſneſs of our followers was* "*beyond the bounds of control; for, notwithſtanding* "*all I could do, her people were plundered on the* "*road of moſt of the things which they brought out of*

"*the*

" *the fort, by which means one of the articles of ſur-*
" *render has been much infringed.* The diſtreſs I
" have felt upon this occaſion cannot be expreſſed,
" and can only be allayed by a firm performance
" of the other articles of the treaty, which I ſhall
" make it my buſineſs to enforce.

" The ſuſpicions which the officers had of trea-
" chery, and the delay made to our getting poſſeſ-
" ſion, had enraged them, as well as the troops,
" ſo much, that the treaty was at firſt regarded
" as void, but this determination was ſoon ſuc-
" ceeded by pity and compaſſion for the unfortu-
" nate beſieged."—After this comes, in his due order, Mr. Haſtings; who is full of ſorrow and indignation, &c. &c. &c. according to the beſt and moſt authentick precedents eſtabliſhed upon ſuch occaſions.

The women being thus diſpoſed of, that is, completely deſpoiled, and pathetically lamented, Mr. Haſtings at length recollected the great object of his enterpriſe, which, during his zeal leſt the officers and ſoldiers ſhould loſe any part of their reward, he ſeems to have forgot; that is to ſay, " to draw from the rajah's guilt the means of re-
" lief to the company's diſtreſſes." This was to be the ſtrong hold of his defence. This compaſſion to the company, he knew by experience would ſanctify a great deal of rigour towards the natives. But the military had diſtreſſes of their own, which they

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they conſidered firſt. Neither Mr. Haſtings's authority, nor his ſupplications, could prevail on them to aſſign a ſhilling to the claim he made on the part of the company. They divided the booty amongſt themſelves. Driven from his claim, he was reduced to petition for the ſpoil as a loan. But the ſoldiers were too wiſe to venture as a loan, what the borrower claimed as a right. In defiance of all authority, they ſhared among themſelves about two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, beſides what had been taken from the women.

In all this there is nothing wonderful. We may reſt aſſured, that when the maxims of any government eſtabliſh among its reſources extraordinary means, and thoſe exerted with a ſtrong hand, that ſtrong hand will provide thoſe extraordinary means for *itſelf*. Whether the ſoldiers had reaſon or not (perhaps much might be ſaid for them) certain it is, the military diſcipline of India was ruined from that moment; and the ſame rage for plunder, the ſame contempt of ſubordination, which blaſted all the hopes of extraordinary means from your ſtrong hand at Benares, have very lately loſt you an army in Myſore. This is viſible enough from the accounts in the laſt Gazette.

There is no doubt but that the country and city of Benares, now brought into the ſame order, will very ſoon exhibit, if it does not already diſplay, the ſame appearance with thoſe countries and cities

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cities which are under better ſubjection. A great maſter, Mr. Haſtings, has himſelf been at the pains of drawing a picture of one of theſe countries, I mean the province and city of Farruckabad. There is no reaſon to queſtion his knowledge of the facts; and his authority (on this point at leaſt) is above all exception, as well for the ſtate of the country as for the cauſe. In his minute of conſultation, Mr. Haſtings deſcribes forcibly the conſequences which ariſe from the degradation into which we have ſunk the native government. "The "total want (ſays he) of all order, regularity, or "authority, in his (the nabob of Farruckabad's) "government, and to which, among other ob-"vious cauſes, it may no doubt be owing that the "country of Farruckabad is become *almoſt an en-"tire waſte, without cultivation or inhabitants*; that "the capital, which, but a very ſhort time ago, "was diſtinguiſhed as one of the moſt populous "and opulent commercial cities in Hindoſtan, at "preſent exhibits nothing but *ſcenes of the moſt "wretched poverty, deſolation and miſery*; and that "the *nabob himſelf*, though in the poſſeſſion of a "tract of country which, with only common care, "is notoriouſly capable of yielding an annual re-"venue of between thirty and forty lacks, (three "or four hundred thouſand pounds) with *no mi-"litary eſtabliſhment* to maintain, ſcarcely com-"mands *the means of a bare ſubſiſtence*.

This is a true and unexaggerated picture, not only

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only of Farruckabad, but of at leaſt three fourths of the country which we poſſeſs, or rather lay waſte, in India. Now, Sir, the houſe will be deſirous to know for what purpoſe this picture was drawn. It was for a purpoſe, I will not ſay laudable, but neceſſary, that of taking the unfortunate prince and his country out of the hands of a ſequeſtrator ſent thither by the nabob of Oude, the mortal enemy of the prince thus ruined, and to protect him by means of a Britiſh reſident, who might carry his complaints to the ſuperiour reſident at Oude, or tranſmit them to Calcutta. But mark how the reformer perſiſted in his reformation. The effect of the meaſure was better than was probably expected. The prince began to be at eaſe; the country began to recover; and the revenue began to be collected. Theſe were alarming circumſtances. Mr. Haſtings not only recalled the reſident, but he entered into a formal ſtipulation with the nabob of Oude, never to ſend an Engliſh ſubject again to Farruckabad; and thus the country, deſcribed as you have heard by Mr. Haſtings, is given up for ever to the very perſons to whom he had attributed its ruin, that is, to the Sezawals or ſequeſtrators of the nabob of Oude.

Such was the iſſue of the firſt attempt to relieve the diſtreſſes of the dependent provinces. I ſhall cloſe what I have to ſay on the condition of the northern dependencies, with the effect of the laſt of theſe attempts. You will recollect,

Sir,

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Sir, the account I have not long ago ſtated to you as given by Mr. Haſtings, of the ruined condition of the deſtroyer of others, the nabob of Oude, and of the recal, in conſequence, of Hannay, Middleton, and Johnſon. When the firſt little ſudden guſt of paſſion againſt theſe gentlemen was ſpent, the ſentiments of old friendſhip began to revive. Some healing conferences were held between them and the ſuperiour government. Mr. Hannay was permitted to return to Oude; but death prevented the further advantages intended for him, and the future benefits propoſed for the country by the provident care of the council general.

One of theſe gentlemen was accuſed of the groſſeſt peculations. Two of them by Mr. Haſtings himſelf, of what he conſidered as very groſs offences. The court of directors were informed, by the governour general and council, that a ſevere inquiry would be inſtituted againſt the two ſurvivors; and they requeſted that court to ſuſpend its judgment, and to wait the event of their proceedings. A mock inquiry has been inſtituted, by which the parties could not be ſaid to be either acquitted or condemned. By means of the bland and conciliatory diſpoſitions of the charter governours, and proper private explanations, the publick inquiry has in effect died away; the ſuppoſed peculators and deſtroyers of Oude repoſe in all ſecurity in the boſoms of their accuſers; whilſt others

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others ſucceed to them to be inſtructed by their example.

It is only to complete the view I propoſed of the conduct of the company, with regard to the dependent provinces, that I ſhall ſay *any* thing at all of the Carnatick, which is the ſcene, if poſſible, of greater diſorder than the northern provinces. Perhaps it were better to ſay of this center and metropolis of abuſe, whence all the reſt in India and in England diverge; from whence they are fed and methodized, what was ſaid of Carthage—*de Carthagine ſatius eſt ſilere quam parum dicere.* This country, in all its denominations, is about 46,000 ſquare miles. It may be affirmed univerſally, that not one perſon of ſubſtance or property, landed, commercial or monied, excepting two or three bankers, who are neceſſary depoſits and diſtributors of the general ſpoil, is left in all that region. In that country the moiſture, the bounty of Heaven, is given but at a certain ſeaſon. Before the æra of our influence, the induſtry of man carefully huſbanded that gift of God. The Gentoos preſerved, with a provident and religious care, the precious depoſit of the periodical rain in reſervoirs, many of them works of royal grandeur; and from theſe, as occaſion demanded, they fructified the whole country. To maintain theſe reſervoirs, and to keep up an annual advance to the cultivators, for ſeed and

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and cattle, formed a principal object of the piety and policy of the priefts and rulers of the Gentoo religion.

This object required a command of money; and there was no pollam, or caſtle, which in the happy days of the Carnatick was without ſome hoard of treaſure, by which the governours were enabled to combat with the irregularity of the ſeaſons, and to reſiſt or to buy off the invaſion of an enemy. In all the cities were multitudes of merchants and bankers, for all occaſions of monied aſſiſtance; and on the other hand, the native princes were in condition to obtain credit from them. The manufacturer was paid by the return of commodities, or by imported money, and not, as at preſent, in the taxes that had been originally exacted from his induſtry. In aid of caſual diſtreſs, the country was full of choultries, which were inns and hoſpitals, where the traveller and the poor were relieved. All ranks of people had their place in the publick concern, and their ſhare in the common ſtock and common proſperity; but *the chartered rights of men*, and the right which it was thought proper to ſet up in the nabob of Arcot, introduced a new ſyſtem. It was their policy to conſider hoards of money as crimes; to regard moderate rents as frauds on the ſovereign; and to view, in the leſſer princes, any claim of exemption from more than ſettled tribute, as an act of rebellion.

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lion. Accordingly all the caſtles were, one after the other, plundered and deſtroyed. The native princes were expelled; the hoſpitals fell to ruin; the reſervoirs of water went to decay; the merchants, bankers, and manufacturers diſappeared; and ſterility, indigence, and depopulation, overſpread the face of theſe once flouriſhing provinces.

The company was very early ſenſible of theſe miſchiefs, and of their true cauſe. They gave preciſe orders "that the native princes, called poly-"gars, ſhould *not be extirpated.*"—"The rebellion "[ſo they chooſe to call it] of the polygars, may "(they fear) *with too much juſtice*, be attributed to "the mal-adminiſtration of the nabob's collec-"tors:"—They obſerve with concern, that their "troops have been put to *diſagreeable* ſervices." They might have uſed a ſtronger expreſſion without impropriety. But they make amends in another place. Speaking of the polygars, the directors ſay, that "it was repugnant to humanity to "*force* them to ſuch dreadful extremities *as they* "*underwent:*" That ſome examples of ſeverity *might* be neceſſary, "when they fell into the nabob's hands," *and not by the deſtruction of the country:* "That *they fear* his government is *none of the* "*mildeſt*; and that there is *great oppreſſion* in col-"lecting his revenues." They ſtate, that the wars in which he has involved the Carnatick, had been a cauſe of its diſtreſſes: "that theſe diſtreſſes

"have

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" have been certainly great; but thoſe by *the na-*
" *bob's oppreſſions* they believe *to be greater than all.*"
Pray, Sir, attend to the reaſon for their opinion that the government of this their inſtrument is more calamitous to the country than the ravages of war.—Becauſe, ſay they, his oppreſſions are " *without intermiſſion.*—The others are temporary; " by all which *oppreſſions* we believe the nabob has " great wealth in ſtore." From this ſtore neither he nor they could derive any advantage whatſoever upon the invaſion of Hyder Ali in the hour of their greateſt calamity and diſmay.

It is now proper to compare theſe declarations with the company's conduct. The principal reaſon which they aſſigned againſt the *extirpation* of the polygars was, that the *weavers* were protected in their fortreſſes. They might have added, that the company itſelf, which ſtung them to death, had been warmed in the boſom of theſe unfortunate princes: for, on the taking of Madras by the French, it was in their hospitable pollams, that moſt of the inhabitants found refuge and protection. But, notwithſtanding all theſe orders, reaſons, and declarations, they at length gave an indirect ſanction, and permitted the uſe of a very direct and irreſiſtible force, to meaſures which they had, over and over again, declared to be falſe policy, cruel, inhuman, and oppreſſive. Having, however, forgot all attention to the princes

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and the people, they remembered that they had ſome ſort of intereſt in the trade of the country; and it is matter of curioſity to obſerve the protection which they afforded to this their natural object.

Full of anxious cares on this head, they direct, "that in reducing the polygars they (their ſervants) were to be *cautious*, not to deprive the "*weavers and manufacturers* of the protection they "often met with in the ſtrong holds of the polygar countries;"—and they write to their inſtrument, the nabob of Arcot, concerning theſe poor people in a moſt pathetick ſtrain. "We *entreat* your excellency (ſay they) in particular, to "make the manufacturers the object of your *tendereſt care*; particularly when you *root out* the "polygars, you do not deprive the *weavers of the "protection they enjoyed under them.*" When they root out the protectors in favour of the oppreſſor, they ſhew themſelves religiouſly cautious of the rights of the protected. When they extirpate the ſhepherd and the ſhepherd's dog, they piouſly recommend the helpleſs flock to the mercy, and even to the *tendereſt care*, of the wolf. This is the uniform ſtrain of their policy, ſtrictly forbidding, and at the ſame time ſtrenuouſly encouraging and enforcing, every meaſure that can ruin and deſolate the country committed to their charge. After giving the company's idea of the

government

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government of this their inſtrument, it may appear ſingular, but it is perfectly conſiſtent with their ſyſtem, that, beſides waſting for him, at two different times, the moſt exquiſite ſpot upon the earth, Tanjour, and all the adjacent countries, they have even voluntarily put their own territory, that is, a large and fine country adjacent to Madras, called their jaghire, wholly out of their protection; and have continued to farm their ſubjects, and their duties towards theſe ſubjects, to that very nabob, whom they themſelves conſtantly repreſent as an habitual oppreſſor, and a relentleſs tyrant. This they have done without any pretence of ignorance of the objects of oppreſſion for which this prince has thought fit to become their renter; for he has again and again told them, that it is for the ſole purpoſe of exerciſing authority he holds the jaghire lands; and he affirms (and I believe with truth) that he pays more for that territory than the revenues yield. This deficiency he muſt make up from his other territories; and thus, in order to furniſh the means of oppreſſing one part of the Carnatick, he is led to oppreſs all the reſt.

The houſe perceives that the livery of the company's government is uniform. I have deſcribed the condition of the countries indirectly, but moſt ſubſtantially, under the company's authority. And now I aſk, whether, with this map of miſgovernment

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before me, I can ſuppoſe myſelf bound by my vote to continue, upon any principles of pretended publick faith, the management of theſe countries in thoſe hands? If I kept ſuch a faith, (which in reality is no better than a *fides latronum)* with what is called the company, I muſt break the faith, the covenant, the ſolemn, original, indiſpenſable oath, in which I am bound, by the eternal frame and conſtitution of things, to the whole human race.

As I have dwelt ſo long on theſe who are indirectly under the company's adminiſtration, I will endeavour to be a little ſhorter upon the countries immediately under this charter government.—Theſe are the Bengal provinces. The condition of theſe provinces is pretty fully detailed in the ſixth and ninth reports, and in their appendixes. I will ſelect only ſuch principles and inſtances as are broad and general. To your own thoughts I ſhall leave it, to furniſh the detail of oppreſſions involved in them. I ſhall ſtate to you, as ſhortly as I am able, the conduct of the company;—1ſt, towards the landed intereſts;—next, the commercial intereſts;—3dly, the native government;—and laſtly, to their own government.

Bengal, and the provinces that are united to it, are larger than the kingdom of France; and once contained, as France does contain, a great and independent landed intereſt, compoſed of princes, of great lords, of a numerous nobility and gentry, of

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of freeholders, of lower tenants, of religious communities, and publick foundations. So early as 1769, the company's ſervants perceived the decay into which theſe provinces had fallen under Engliſh adminiſtration, and they made a ſtrong repreſentation upon this decay, and what they apprehended to be the cauſes of it. Soon after this repreſentation, Mr. Haſtings became preſident of Bengal. Inſtead of adminiſtering a remedy to this melancholy diſorder, upon the heels of a dreadful famine, in the year 1772, the ſuccour which the new preſident and the council lent to this afflicted nation was—ſhall I be believed in relating it?—the landed intereſt of a whole kingdom, of a kingdom to be compared to France, was ſet up to publick auction! They ſet up (Mr. Haſtings ſet up) the whole nobility, gentry, and freeholders, to the higheſt bidder. No preference was given to the ancient proprietors. They muſt bid againſt every uſurer, every temporary adventurer, every jobber and ſchemer, every ſervant of every European, or they were obliged to content themſelves, in lieu of their extenſive domains, with their houſe, and ſuch a penſion as the ſtate auctioneers thought fit to aſſign. In this general calamity, ſeveral of the firſt nobility thought (and in all appearance juſtly) that they had better ſubmit to the neceſſity of this penſion, than continue, under the name of zemindars, the objects and inſtruments of a ſyſtem,

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by which they ruined their tenants, and were ruined themſelves. Another reform has ſince come upon the back of the firſt; and a penſion having been aſſigned to theſe unhappy perſons, in lieu of their hereditary lands, a new ſcheme of œconomy has taken place, and deprived them of that penſion.

The menial ſervants of Engliſhmen, perſons (to uſe the emphatical phraſe of a ruined and patient eaſtern chief) "*whoſe fathers they would not have* "*ſet with the dogs of their flock*," entered into their patrimonial lands. Mr. Haſtings's banian was, after this auction, found poſſeſſed of territories yielding a rent of one hundred and forty thouſand pounds a year.

Such an univerſal proſcription, upon any pretence, has few examples. Such a proſcription, without even a pretence of delinquency, has none. It ſtands by itſelf. It ſtands as a monument to aſtoniſh the imagination, to confound the reaſon of mankind. I confeſs to you, when I firſt came to know this buſineſs in its true nature and extent, my ſurpriſe did a little ſuſpend my indignation. I was in a manner ſtupified by the deſperate boldneſs of a few obſcure young men, who having obtained, by ways which they could not comprehend, a power of which they ſaw neither the purpoſes nor the limits, toſſed about, ſubverted, and tore to pieces, as if it were in the gambols of a boyiſh unluckineſs and malice, the moſt eſtabliſhed rights,

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rights, and the moſt ancient and moſt revered inſtitutions, of ages and nations. Sir, I will not now trouble you with any detail with regard to what they have ſince done with theſe ſame lands and land-holders; only to inform you, that nothing has been ſuffered to ſettle for two ſeaſons together upon any baſis; and that the levity and inconſtancy of theſe mock legiſlators were not the leaſt afflicting parts of the oppreſſions ſuffered under their uſurpation; nor will any thing give ſtability to the property of the natives, but an adminiſtration in England at once protecting and ſtable. The country ſuſtains, almoſt every year, the miſeries of a revolution. At preſent, all is uncertainty, miſery, and confuſion. There is to be found through theſe vaſt regions no longer one landed man, who is a reſource for voluntary aid, or an object for particular rapine. Some of them were, not long ſince, great princes; they poſſeſſed treaſures, they levied armies. There was a zemindar in Bengal (I forget his name) that, on the threat of an invaſion, ſupplied the ſoubah of theſe provinces with the loan of a million ſterling. The family at this day wants credit for a breakfaſt at the bazar.

I ſhall now ſay a word or two on the company's care of the commercial intereſt of thoſe kingdoms. As it appears in the reports, that perſons in the higheſt ſtations in Bengal have adopted, as

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a fixed plan of policy, the deſtruction of all intermediate dealers between the company and the manufacturer, native merchants have diſappeared of courſe. The ſpoil of the revenues is the ſole capital which purchaſes the produce and manufactures; and through three or four foreign companies tranſmits the official gains of individuals to Europe. No other commerce has an exiſtence in Bengal. The tranſport of its plunder is the only traffick of the country. I wiſh to refer you to the appendix to the ninth report for a full account of the manner in which the company have protected the commercial intereſts of their dominions in the eaſt.

As to the native government and the adminiſtration of juſtice, it ſubſiſted in a poor tottering manner for ſome years. In the year 1781, a total revolution took place in that eſtabliſhment. In one of the uſual freaks of legiſlation of the council of Bengal, the whole criminal juriſdiction of theſe courts, called the Phoujdary Judicature, exerciſed till then by the principal Muſſulmen, was in one day, without notice, without conſultation with the magiſtrates or the people there, and without communication with the directors or miniſters here, totally ſubverted. A new inſtitution took place, by which this juriſdiction was divided between certain Engliſh ſervants of the company and the Gentoo zemindars of the country, the latter of whom

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whom never petitioned for it, nor, for ought that appears, ever desired this boon. But its natural use was made of it; it was made a pretence for new extortions of money.

The natives had however one consolation in the ruin of their judicature; they soon saw that it fared no better with the English government itself. That too, after destroying every other, came to its period. This revolution may well be rated for a most daring act, even among the extraordinary things that have been doing in Bengal since our unhappy acquisition of the means of so much mischief.

An establishment of English government for civil justice, and for the collection of revenue, was planned and executed by the president and council of Bengal, subject to the pleasure of the directors, in the year 1772. According to this plan, the country was divided into six districts, or provinces. In each of these was established a provincial council, which administered the revenue; and of that council one member by monthly rotation, presided in the courts of civil resort; with an appeal to the council of the province, and thence to Calcutta. In this system (whether, in other respects, good or evil) there were some capital advantages. There was in the very number of persons in each provincial council, authority, communication, mutual check, and control. They were obliged, on their

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their minutes of conſultation, to enter their reaſons and diſſents; ſo that a man of diligence, of reſearch, and tolerable ſagacity, ſitting in London, might, from theſe materials, be enabled to form ſome judgment of the ſpirit of what was going on on the furtheſt banks of the Ganges and Burrampooter.

The court of directors ſo far ratified this eſtabliſhment, (which was conſonant enough to their general plan of government) that they gave preciſe orders, that no alteration ſhould be made in it, without their conſent. So far from being apprized of any deſign againſt this conſtitution, they had reaſon to conceive that on trial it had been more and more approved by their council general, at leaſt by the governour general, who had planned it. At the time of the revolution, the council general was nominally in two perſons, virtually in one. At that time meaſures of an arduous and critical nature ought to have been forborne, even if, to the fulleſt council, this ſpecifick meaſure had not been prohibited by the ſuperiour authority. It was in this very ſituation, that one man had the hardineſs to conceive, and the temerity to execute, a total revolution in the form and the perſons compoſing the government of a great kingdom. Without any previous ſtep, at one ſtroke, the whole conſtitution of Bengal, civil and criminal, was ſwept away. The counſellors were recalled from

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from their provinces. Upwards of fifty of the principal officers of government were turned out of employ, and rendered dependent on Mr. Haſtings for their immediate ſubſiſtence, and for all hope of future proviſion. The chief of each council, and one European collector of revenue, was left in each province.

But here, Sir, you may imagine a new government, of ſome permanent deſcription, was eſtabliſhed in the place of that which had been thus ſuddenly overturned. No ſuch thing. Leſt theſe chiefs without councils ſhould be conceived to form the ground plan of ſome future government, it was publickly declared, that their continuance was only temporary and permiſſive. The whole ſubordinate Britiſh adminiſtration of revenue was then veſted in a committee in Calcutta, all creatures of the governour general; and the provincial management, under the permiſſive chief, was delivered over to native officers.

But, that the revolution, and the purpoſes of the revolution might be complete, to this committee were delegated, not only the functions of all the inferiour, but, what will ſurpriſe the houſe, thoſe of the ſupreme adminiſtration of revenue alſo. Hitherto the governour general and council had, in their revenue department, adminiſtered the finances of thoſe kingdoms. By the new ſcheme they are delegated to this committee, who are only to report their proceedings for approbation.

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The key to the whole tranſaction is given in one of the inſtructions to the committee, "that it is "not neceſſary that they ſhould enter diſſents." By this means the ancient plan of the company's adminiſtration was deſtroyed; but the plan of concealment was perfected. To that moment the accounts of the revenues were tolerably clear; or at leaſt means were furniſhed for inquiries, by which they might be rendered ſatisfactory. In the obſcure and ſilent gulph of this committee every thing is now buried. The thickeſt ſhades of night ſurround all their tranſactions. No effectual means of detecting fraud, miſmanagement or miſrepreſentation, exiſt. The directors, who have dared to talk with ſuch confidence on their revenues, know nothing about them. What uſed to fill volumes is now compriſed under a few dry heads on a ſheet of paper. The natives, a people habitually made to concealment, are the chief managers of the revenue throughout the provinces. I mean by natives, ſuch wretches as your rulers ſelect out of them as moſt fitted for their purpoſes. As a proper key-ſtone to bind the arch, a native, one Gunga Govind Sing, a man turned out of his employment by Sir John Clavering, for malverſation in office, is made the correſponding ſecretary; and indeed the great moving principle of their new board.

As the whole revenue and civil adminiſtration was thus ſubverted, and a clandeſtine government ſubſti-

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ſubſtituted in the place of it, the judicial inſtitution underwent a like revolution. In 1772 there had been ſix courts formed out of the ſix provincial councils. Eighteen new ones are appointed in their place, with each a judge, taken from the *junior* ſervants of the company. To maintain theſe eighteen courts, a tax is levied on the ſums in litigation, of 2½ *per cent.* on the great, and of 5 *per cent.* on the leſs. This money is all drawn from the provinces to Calcutta. The chief juſtice (the ſame who ſtays in defiance of a vote of this houſe, and of his majeſty's recal) is appointed at once the treaſurer and diſpoſer of theſe taxes, levied, without any ſort of authority, from the company, from the crown, or from parliament.

In effect, Sir, every legal regular authority in matters of revenue, of political adminiſtration, of criminal law, of civil law, in many of the moſt eſſential parts of military diſcipline, is laid level with the ground; and an oppreſſive, irregular, capricious, unſteady, rapacious, and peculating deſpotiſm, with a direct diſavowal of obedience to any authority at home, and without any fixed maxim, principle, or rule of proceeding, to guide them in India, is at preſent the ſtate of your charter-government over great kingdoms.

As the company has made this uſe of their truſt, I ſhould ill diſcharge mine, if I refuſed to give my moſt chearful vote for the redreſs of theſe abuſes,

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by putting the affairs of ſo large and valuable a part of the intereſts of this nation, and of mankind, into ſome ſteady hands, poſſeſſing the confidence, and aſſured of the ſupport of this houſe, until they can be reſtored to regularity, order, and conſiſtency.

I have touched the heads of ſome of the grievances of the people, and the abuſes of government. But I hope and truſt, you will give me credit, when I faithfully aſſure you, that I have not mentioned one-fourth part of what has come to my knowledge in your committee; and further, I have full reaſon to believe, that not one-fourth part of the abuſes are come to my knowledge, by that or by any other means. Pray conſider what I have ſaid only as an index to direct you in your inquiries.

If this then, Sir, has been the uſe made of the truſt of political powers internal and external, given by you in the charter, the next thing to be ſeen is the conduct of the company with regard to the commercial truſt. And here I will make a fair offer:—If it can be proved that they have acted wiſely, prudently, and frugally, as merchants, I ſhall paſs by the whole maſs of their enormities as ſtateſmen. That they have not done this their preſent condition is proof ſufficient. Their diſtreſſes are ſaid to be owing to their wars. This is not wholly true. But if it were, is not that readineſs

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dineſs to engage in wars which diſtinguiſhes them, and for which the committee of ſecrecy has ſo branded their politicks, founded on the falſeſt principles of mercantile ſpeculation?

The principle of buying cheap and ſelling dear is the firſt, the great foundation of mercantile dealing. Have they ever attended to this principle? Nay, for years have they not actually authorized in their ſervants a total indifference as to the prices they were to pay?

A great deal of ſtrictneſs in driving bargains for whatever we contract, is another of the principles of mercantile policy. Try the company by that teſt! Look at the contracts that are made for them. Is the company ſo much as a good commiſſary to their own armies? I engage to ſelect for you, out of the innumerable maſs of their dealings, all conducted very nearly alike, one contract only, the exceſſive profits on which during a ſhort term would pay the whole of their year's dividend. I ſhall undertake to ſhew, that upon two others, the inordinate profits given, with the loſſes incurred in order to ſecure thoſe profits, would pay a year's dividend more.

It is a third property of trading men to ſee that their clerks do not divert the dealings of the maſter to their own benefit. It was the other day only, when their governour and council taxed the company's inveſtment with a ſum of fifty thouſand pounds, as an inducement to perſuade only ſeven members

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members of their board of trade to give their *honour* that they would abſtain from ſuch profits upon that inveſtment as they muſt have violated their *oaths* if they had made at all.

It is a fourth quality of a merchant to be exact in his accounts. What will be thought, when you have fully before you the mode of accounting made uſe of in the treaſury of Bengal?—I hope you will have it ſoon. With regard to one of their agencies, when it came to the material part, the prime coſt of the goods on which a commiſſion of fifteen *per cent.* was allowed, to the aſtoniſhment of the factory to whom the commodities were ſent, the accountant general reports that he did not think himſelf authorized to call for *vouchers* relative to this and other particulars,—becauſe the agent was upon his *honour* with regard to them. A new principle of account upon honour ſeems to be regularly eſtabliſhed in their dealings and their treaſury, which in reality amounts to an entire annihilation of the principle of all accounts.

It is a fifth property of a merchant, who does not meditate a fraudulent bankruptcy, to calculate his probable profits upon the money he takes up to veſt in buſineſs. Did the company, when they bought goods on bonds bearing 8 *per cent.* intereſt, at ten and even twenty *per cent.* diſcount, even aſk themſelves a queſtion concerning the poſſibility of advantage from dealing on theſe terms?

The laſt quality of a merchant I ſhall advert to, is

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is the taking care to be properly prepared, in caſh or goods, in the ordinary courſe of ſale, for the bills which are drawn on them. Now I aſk, whether they have ever calculated the clear produce of any given ſales, to make them tally with the four million of bills which are come and coming upon them, ſo as at the proper periods to enable the one to liquidate the other? No, they have not. They are now obliged to borrow money of their own ſervants to purchaſe their inveſtment. The ſervants ſtipulate five *per cent.* on the capital they advance, if their bills ſhould not be paid at the time when they become due; and the value of the rupee on which they charge this intereſt is taken at two ſhillings and a penny. Has the company ever troubled themſelves to inquire whether their ſales can bear the payment of that intereſt, and at that rate of exchange? Have they once conſidered the dilemma in which they are placed—the ruin of their credit in the Eaſt Indies, if they refuſe the bills—the ruin of their credit and exiſtence in England, if they accept them? Indeed no trace of equitable government is found in their politicks; not one trace of commercial principle in their mercantile dealing; and hence is the deepeſt and matureſt wiſdom of parliament demanded, and the beſt reſources of this kingdom muſt be ſtrained, to reſtore them; that is, to reſtore the countries deſtroyed by the miſconduct of the company, and to

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reſtore the company itſelf, ruined by the conſequences of their plans for deſtroying what they were bound to preſerve.

I required, if you remember, at my outſet, a proof that theſe abuſes were habitual. But ſurely this is not neceſſary for me to conſider as a ſeparate head; becauſe I truſt I have made it evident beyond a doubt, in conſidering the abuſes themſelves, that they are regular, permanent, and ſyſtematical.

I am now come to my laſt condition, without which, for one, I will never readily lend my hand to the deſtruction of any eſtabliſhed government; which is, That in its preſent ſtate, the government of the Eaſt India company is abſolutely incorrigible.

Of this great truth I think there can be little doubt, after all that has appeared in this houſe. It is ſo very clear, that I muſt conſider the leaving any power in their hands, and the determined reſolution to continue and countenance every mode and every degree of peculation, oppreſſion, and tyranny, to be one and the ſame thing. I look upon that body incorrigible, from the fulleſt conſideration both of their uniform conduct, and their preſent real and virtual conſtitution.

If they had not conſtantly been apprized of all the enormities committed in India under their authority; if this ſtate of things had been as much a dif-

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a diſcovery to them as it was to many of us; we might flatter ourſelves that the detection of the abuſes would lead to their reformation. I will go further: If the court of directors had not uniformly condemned every act which this houſe or any of its committees had condemned; if the language in which they expreſſed their diſapprobation againſt enormities and their authors had not been much more vehement and indignant than any ever uſed in this houſe, I ſhould entertain ſome hopes. If they had not on the other hand, as uniformly commended all their ſervants who had done their duty and obeyed their orders, as they had heavily cenſured thoſe who rebelled; I might ſay, Theſe people have been in an errour, and when they are ſenſible of it they will mend. But when I reflect on the uniformity of their ſupport to the objects of their uniform cenſure; and the ſtate of inſignificance and diſgrace to which all of thoſe have been reduced whom they approved; and that even utter ruin and premature death have been among the fruits of their favour; I muſt be convinced, that in this caſe, as in all others, hypocriſy is the only vice that never can be cured.

Attend, I pray you, to the ſituation and proſperity of Benfield, Haſtings, and others of that ſort. The laſt of theſe has been treated by the company with an aſperity of reprehenſion that has no parallel. They lament, "that the power of

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" diſpoſing of their property for perpetuity, ſhould " fall into ſuch hands." Yet for fourteen years, with little interruption, he has governed all their affairs, of every deſcription, with an abſolute ſway. He has had himſelf the means of heaping up immenſe wealth; and, during that whole period, the fortunes of hundreds have depended on his ſmiles and frowns. He himſelf tells you he is incumbered with two hundred and fifty young gentlemen, ſome of them of the beſt families in England, all of whom aim at returning with vaſt fortunes to Europe in the prime of life. He has then two hundred and fifty of your children as his hoſtages for your good behaviour; and loaded for years, as he has been, with the execrations of the natives, with the cenſures of the court of directors, and ſtruck and blaſted with the reſolutions of this houſe, he ſtill maintains the moſt deſpotick power ever known in India. He domineers with an overbearing ſway in the aſſemblies of his pretended maſters; and it is thought in a degree raſh to venture to name his offences in this houſe, even as grounds of a legiſlative remedy.

On the other hand, conſider the fate of thoſe who have met with the applauſes of the directors. Colonel Monſon, one of the beſt of men, had his days ſhortened by the applauſes, deſtitute of the ſupport, of the company. General Clavering, whoſe panegyrick was made in every diſpatch from

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from England, whoſe hearſe was bedewed with the tears, and hung round with the eulogies of the court of directors, burſt an honeſt and indignant heart at the treachery of thoſe who ruined him by their praiſes. Uncommon patience and temper, ſupported Mr. Francis a while longer under the baneful influence of the commendation of the court of directors. His health however gave way at length; and, in utter deſpair, he returned to Europe. At his return the doors of the India Houſe were ſhut to this man, who had been the object of their conſtant admiration. He has indeed eſcaped with life, but he has forfeited all expectation of credit, conſequence, party, and following. He may well ſay, *Me nemo miniſtro fur erit, atque ideo nulli comes exeo.* This man, whoſe deep reach of thought, whoſe large legiſlative conceptions, and whoſe grand plans of policy make the moſt ſhining part of our reports, from whence we have all learned our leſſons, if we have learned any good ones; this man, from whoſe materials thoſe gentlemen who have leaſt acknowledged it have yet ſpoken as from a brief; this man, driven from his employment, diſcountenanced by the directors, has had no other reward, and no other diſtinction, but that inward "ſunſhine of the ſoul" which a good conſcience can always beſtow upon itſelf. He has not yet had ſo much as a good word, but from a perſon too inſignificant to make

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any other return, for the means with which he has been furniſhed for performing his ſhare of a duty which is equally urgent on us all.

Add to this, that from the higheſt in place to the loweſt, every Britiſh ſubject, who, in obedience to the company's orders, has been active in the diſcovery of peculations, has been ruined. They have been driven from India. When they made their appeal at home they were not heard; when they attempted to return they were ſtopped. No artifice of fraud, no violence of power, has been omitted to deſtroy them in character as well as in fortune.

Worſe, far worſe, has been the fate of the poor creatures, the natives of India, whom the hypocriſy of the company has betrayed into complaint of oppreſſion, and diſcovery of peculation. The firſt women in Bengal, the ranny of Rajeſhahi, the ranny of Burdwan, the ranny of Amboa, by their weak and thoughtleſs truſt in the company's honour and protection, are utterly ruined; the firſt of theſe women, a perſon of princely rank, and once of correſpondent fortune, who paid above two hundred thouſand a year quit-rent to the ſtate, is, according to very credible information, ſo completely beggared as to ſtand in need of the relief of alms. Mahomed Reza Khân, the ſecond Muſſulman in Bengal, for having been diſtinguiſhed by the ill-omened honour of the countenance

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nance and protection of the court of directors, was, without the pretence of any inquiry whatſoever into his conduct, ſtripped of all his employments, and reduced to the loweſt condition. His ancient rival for power, the rajah Nundcomar, was, by an inſult on every thing which India holds reſpectable and ſacred, hanged in the face of all his nation, by the judges you ſent to protect that people; hanged for a pretended crime, upon an *ex poſt facto* Britiſh act of parliament, in the midſt of his evidence againſt Mr. Haſtings. The accuſer they ſaw hanged. The culprit, without acquittal or inquiry, triumphs on the ground of that murder: a murder not of Nundcomar only, but of all living teſtimony, and even of evidence yet unborn. From that time not a complaint has been heard from the natives againſt their governours. All the grievances of India have found a complete remedy.

Men will not look to acts of parliament, to regulations, to declarations, to votes, and reſolutions. No, they are not ſuch fools. They will aſk, what is the road to power, credit, wealth, and honours? They will aſk, what conduct ends in neglect, diſgrace, poverty, exile, priſon and gibbet? Theſe will teach them the courſe which they are to follow. It is your diſtribution of theſe that will give the character and tone of your government. All the reſt is miſerable grimace.

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When I accuſe the court of directors of this habitual treachery, in the uſe of reward and puniſhment, I do not mean to include all the individuals in that court. There have been, Sir, very frequently, men of the greateſt integrity and virtue amongſt them; and the contrariety in the declarations and conduct of that court has ariſen, I take it, from this:—That the honeſt directors have, by the force of matter of fact on the records, carried the reprobation of the evil meaſures of the ſervants in India. This could not be prevented, whilſt theſe records ſtared them in the face; nor were the delinquents, either here or there, very ſolicitous about their reputation, as long as they were able to ſecure their power. The agreement of their partiſans to cenſure them, blunted for a while the edge of a ſevere proceeding. It obtained for them a character of impartiality, which enabled them to recommend, with ſome ſort of grace, what will always carry a plauſible appearance, thoſe treacherous expedients, called moderate meaſures. Whilſt theſe were under diſcuſſion, new matter of complaint came over, which ſeemed to antiquate the firſt. The ſame circle was here trod round once more; and thus through years they proceeded in a compromiſe of cenſure for puniſhment; until, by ſhame and deſpair, one after another, almoſt every man, who preferred his duty to the company to the intereſt of their ſervants, has been driven from that court.

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This, Sir, has been their conduct; and it has been the result of the alteration which was insensibly made in their constitution. The change was made insensibly; but it is now strong and adult, and as publick and declared, as it is fixed beyond all power of reformation. So that there is none who hears me, that is not as certain as I am, that the company, in the sense in which it was formerly understood, has no existence. The question is not, what injury you may do to the proprietors of India stock; for there are no such men to be injured. If the active ruling part of the company who form the general court, who fill the offices, and direct the measures (the rest tell for nothing) were persons who held their stock as a means of their subsistence, who in the part they took were only concerned in the government of India, for the rise or fall of their dividend, it would be indeed a defective plan of policy. The interest of the people who are governed by them would not be their primary object; perhaps a very small part of their consideration at all. But then they might well be depended on, and perhaps more than persons in other respects preferable, for preventing the peculation of their servants to their own prejudice. Such a body would not easily have left their trade as a spoil to the avarice of those who received their wages. But now things are totally reversed. The stock is of no value, whether

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whether it be the qualification of a director or proprietor; and it is impoſſible that it ſhould. A director's qualification may be worth about two thouſand five hundred pounds—and the intereſt, at eight *per cent.* is about one hundred and ſixty pounds a year. Of what value is that, whether it riſe to ten, or fall to ſix, or to nothing, to him whoſe ſon, before he is in Bengal two months, and before he deſcends the ſteps of the council chamber, ſells the grant of a ſingle contract for forty thouſand pounds? Accordingly the ſtock is bought up in qualifications. The vote is not to protect the ſtock, but the ſtock is bought to acquire the vote; and the end of the vote is to cover and ſupport, againſt juſtice, ſome man of power who has made an obnoxious fortune in India; or to maintain in power thoſe who are actually employing it in the acquiſition of ſuch a fortune; and to avail themſelves in return of his patronage, that he may ſhower the ſpoils of the eaſt, "barbarick pearl and gold," on them, their families, and dependents. So that all the relations of the company are not only changed, but inverted. The ſervants in India are not appointed by the directors, but the directors are choſen by them. The trade is carried on with their capitals. To them the revenues of the country are mortgaged. The ſeat of the ſupreme power is in Calcutta. The houſe in Leadenhall Street is nothing more than a change for their agents, factors, and deputies to

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meet in, to take care of their affairs, and ſupport their intereſts; and this ſo avowedly, that we ſee the known agents of the delinquent ſervants marſhalling and diſciplining their forces, and the prime ſpokeſmen in all their aſſemblies.

Every thing has followed in this order, and according to the natural train of events. I will cloſe what I have to ſay on the incorrigible condition of the company, by ſtating to you a few facts that will leave no doubt of the obſtinacy of that corporation, and of their ſtrength too, in reſiſting the reformation of their ſervants. By theſe facts you will be enabled to diſcover the ſole grounds upon which they are tenacious of their charter. It is now more than two years that, upon account of the groſs abuſes and ruinous ſituation of the company's affairs, (which occaſioned the cry of the whole world long before it was taken up here) that we inſtituted two committees to inquire into the miſmanagements by which the company's affairs had been brought to the brink of ruin. Theſe inquiries had been purſued with unremitting diligence; and a great body of facts was collected and printed for general information. In the reſult of thoſe inquiries, although the committees conſiſted of very different deſcriptions, they were unanimous. They joined in cenſuring the conduct of the Indian adminiſtration, and enforcing the reſponſibility upon two men, whom this

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this houſe, in conſequence of theſe reports, declared it to be the duty of the directors to remove from their ſtations, and recal to Great Britain, "*becauſe they had acted in a manner repugnant to the* "*honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought* "*great calamities on India, and enormous expences on* "*the Eaſt-India company.*"

Here was no attempt on the charter. Here was no queſtion of their privileges. To vindicate their own honour, to ſupport their own intereſts, to enforce obedience to their own orders; theſe were the ſole object of the monitory reſolution of this houſe. But as ſoon as the general court could aſſemble, they aſſembled to demonſtrate who they really were. Regardleſs of the proceedings of this houſe, they ordered the directors not to carry into effect any reſolution they might come to for the removal of Mr. Haſtings and Mr. Hornby. The directors, ſtill retaining ſome ſhadow of reſpect to this houſe, inſtituted an inquiry themſelves, which continued from June to October; and after an attentive peruſal and full conſideration of papers, reſolved to take ſteps for removing the perſons who had been the objects of our reſolution; but not without a violent ſtruggle againſt evidence. Seven directors went ſo far as to enter a proteſt againſt the vote of their court. Upon this the general court takes the alarm; it re-aſſembles; it orders the directors to reſcind their reſolution, that is, not

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not to recal Mr. Haſtings and Mr. Hornby, and to deſpiſe the reſolution of the houſe of commons. Without ſo much as the pretence of looking into a ſingle paper, without the formality of inſtituting any committee of inquiry, they ſuperſeded all the labours of their own directors, and of this houſe.

It will naturally occur to aſk, how it was poſſible that they ſhould not attempt ſome ſort of examination into facts, as a colour for their reſiſtance to a publick authority, proceeding ſo very deliberately; and exerted, apparently at leaſt, in favour of their own? The anſwer, and the only anſwer which can be given, is, that they were afraid that their true relation ſhould be miſtaken. They were afraid that their patrons and maſters in India ſhould attribute their ſupport of them to an opinion of their cauſe, and not to an attachment to their power. They were afraid it ſhould be ſuſpected, that they did not mean blindly to ſupport them in the uſe they made of that power. They determined to ſhew that they at leaſt were ſet againſt reformation; that they were firmly reſolved to bring the territories, the trade, and the ſtock of the company, to ruin, rather than be wanting in fidelity to their nominal ſervants and real maſters, in the ways they took to their private fortunes.

Even ſince the beginning of this ſeſſion, the ſame act of audacity was repeated, with the ſame circumſtances

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circumſtances of contempt of all the decorum of inquiry on their part, and of all the proceedings of this houſe. They again made it a requeſt to their favourite, and your culprit, to keep his poſt; and thanked and applauded him, without calling for a paper which could afford light into the merit or demerit of the tranſaction, and without giving themſelves a moment's time to conſider, or even to underſtand the articles of the Maratta peace. The fact is, that for a long time there was a ſtruggle, a faint one indeed, between the company and their ſervants. But it is a ſtruggle no longer. For ſome time the ſuperiority has been decided. The intereſts abroad are become the ſettled preponderating weight both in the court of proprietors, and the court of directors. Even the attempt you have made to inquire into their practices and to reform abuſes, has raiſed and piqued them to a far more regular and ſteady ſupport. The company has made a common cauſe, and identified themſelves, with the deſtroyers of India. They have taken on themſelves all that maſs of enormity; they are ſupporting what you have reprobated; thoſe you condemn they applaud; thoſe you order home to anſwer for their conduct, they requeſt to ſtay, and thereby encourage to proceed in their practices. Thus the ſervants of the Eaſt-India company triumph, and the repreſentatives of the people of Great Britain are defeated.

I there-

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I therefore conclude, what you all conclude, that this body, being totally perverted from the purpoſes of its inſtitution, is utterly incorrigible; and becauſe they are incorrigible, both in conduct and conſtitution, power ought to be taken out of their hands; juſt on the ſame principles on which have been made all the juſt changes and revolutions of government that have taken place ſince the beginning of the world.

I will now ſay a few words to the general principle of the plan which is ſet up againſt that of my right honourable friend. It is to re-commit the government of India to the court of directors. Thoſe who would commit the reformation of India to the deſtroyers of it, are the enemies to that reformation. They would make a diſtinction between directors and proprietors, which, in the preſent ſtate of things, does not, cannot exiſt. But a right honourable gentleman ſays, he would keep the preſent government of India in the court of directors; and would, to curb them, provide ſalutary regulations;—wonderful! That is, he would appoint the old offenders to correct the old offences; and he would render the vicious and the fooliſh wiſe and virtuous, by ſalutary regulations. He would appoint the wolf as guardian of the ſheep; but he has invented a curious muzzle, by which this protecting wolf ſhall not be able to open his jaws above an inch or two at the utmoſt.

Thus

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Thus his work is finiſhed. But I tell the right honourable gentleman, that controuled depravity is not innocence; and that it is not the labour of delinquency in chains, that will correct abuſes. Will theſe gentlemen of the direction animadvert on the partners of their own guilt? Never did a ſerious plan of amending of any old tyrannical eſtabliſhment propoſe the authors and abettors of the abuſes as the reformers of them. If the undone people of India ſee their old oppreſſors in confirmed power, even by the reformation, they will expect nothing but what they will certainly feel, a continuance, or rather an aggravation, of all their former ſufferings. They look to the ſeat of power, and to the perſons who fill it; and they deſpiſe thoſe gentlemen's regulations as much as the gentlemen do who talk of them.

But there is a cure for every thing. Take away, ſay they, the court of proprietors, and the court of directors will do their duty. Yes; as they have done it hitherto. That the evils in India have ſolely ariſen from the court of proprietors, is groſsly falſe. In many of them, the directors were heartily concurring; in moſt of them, they were encouraging, and ſometimes commanding; in all, they were conniving.

But who are to chooſe this well-regulated and reforming court of directors?—Why, the very proprietors who are excluded from all manage-

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ment, for the abuſe of their power. They will chooſe, undoubtedly, out of themſelves, men like themſelves; and thoſe who are moſt forward in reſiſting your authority, thoſe who are moſt engaged in faction or intereſt with the delinquents abroad, will be the objects of their ſelection. But gentlemen ſay, that when this choice is made, the proprietors are not to interfere in the meaſures of the directors, whilſt thoſe directors are buſy in the control of their common patrons and maſters in India. No, indeed, I believe they will not deſire to interfere. They will chooſe thoſe whom they know may be truſted, ſafely truſted, to act in ſtrict conformity to their common principles, manners, meaſures, intereſts, and connections. They will want neither monitor nor control. It is not eaſy to chooſe men to act in conformity to a publick intereſt againſt their private: but a ſure dependance may be had on thoſe who are choſen to forward their private intereſt, at the expence of the publick. But if the directors ſhould ſlip, and deviate into rectitude, the puniſhment is in the hands of the general court, and it will ſurely be remembered to them at their next election.

If the government of India wants no reformation; but gentlemen are amuſing themſelves with a theory, conceiving a more democratick or ariſtocratick mode of government for theſe dependancies, or if they are in a diſpute only about patronage;

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tronage; the diſpute is with me of ſo little concern, that I ſhould not take the pains to utter an affirmative or negative to any propoſition in it. If it be only for a theoretical amuſement that they are to propoſe a bill; the thing is at beſt frivolous and unneceſſary. But if the company's government is not only full of abuſe, but is one of the moſt corrupt and deſtructive tyrannies, that probably ever exiſted in the world, (as I am ſure it is) what a cruel mockery would it be in me, and in thoſe who think like me, to propoſe this kind of remedy for this kind of evil!

I now come to the third objection, That this bill will increaſe the influence of the crown. An honourable gentleman has demanded of me, whether I was in earneſt when I propoſed to this houſe a plan for the reduction of that influence. Indeed, Sir, I was much, very much, in earneſt. My heart was deeply concerned in it; and I hope the publick has not loſt the effect of it. How far my judgment was right, for what concerned perſonal favour and conſequence to myſelf, I ſhall not preſume to determine; nor is its effect upon *me* of any moment. But as to this bill, whether it increaſes the influence of the crown, or not, is a queſtion I ſhould be aſhamed to aſk. If I am not able to correct a ſyſtem of oppreſſion and tyranny, that goes to the utter ruin of thirty millions of my fellow-creatures and fellow-ſubjects, but by ſome increaſe

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to the influence of the crown, I am ready here to declare, that I, who have been active to reduce it, ſhall be at leaſt as active and ſtrenuous to reſtore it again. I am no lover of names; I contend for the ſubſtance of good and protecting government, let it come from what quarter it will.

But I am not obliged to have recourſe to this expedient. Much, very much the contrary. I am ſure that the influence of the crown will by no means aid a reformation of this kind; which can neither be originated nor ſupported, but by the uncorrupt publick virtue of the repreſentatives of the people of England. Let it once get into the ordinary courſe of adminiſtration, and to me all hopes of reformation are gone. I am far from knowing or believing, that this bill will increaſe the influence of the crown. We all know, that the crown has ever had ſome influence in the court of directors; and that it has been extremely increaſed by the acts of 1773 and 1780. The gentlemen who, as part of their reformation, propoſe "a more active control on the part of the "crown," which is to put the directors under a ſecretary of ſtate, ſpecially named for that purpoſe, muſt know, that their project will increaſe it further. But that old influence has had, and the new will have, incurable inconveniences which cannot happen under the parliamentary eſtabliſhment propoſed in this bill. An honourable gentle-

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man,* not now in his place, but who is well acquainted with the India company, and by no means a friend to this bill, has told you, that a miniſterial influence has always been predominant in that body; and that to make the directors pliant to their purpoſes, miniſters generally cauſed perſons meanly qualified to be choſen directors. According to his idea, to ſecure ſubſerviency, they ſubmitted the company's affairs to the direction of incapacity. This was to ruin the company, in order to govern it. This was certainly influence in the very worſt form in which it could appear. At beſt it was clandeſtine and irreſponſible. Whether this was done ſo much upon ſyſtem as that gentleman ſuppoſes, I greatly doubt. But ſuch in effect the operation of government on that court unqueſtionably was; and ſuch, under a ſimilar conſtitution, it will be for ever. Miniſters muſt be wholly removed from the management of the affairs of India, or they will have an influence in its patronage. The thing is inevitable. Their ſcheme of a new ſecretary of ſtate, "with a more vigorous "control," is not much better than a repetition of the meaſure which we know by experience will not do. Since the year 1773 and the year 1784, the company has been under the control of the ſecretary of ſtate's office, and we had then three ſecretaries of ſtate. If more than this is done, then they annihilate the direction which they pretend

* Governour Johnstone.

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to ſupport; and they augment the influence of the crown, of whoſe growth they affect ſo great an horrour. But in truth this ſcheme of reconciling a direction really and truly deliberative, with an office really and ſubſtantially controlling, is a ſort of machinery that can be kept in order but a very ſhort time. Either the directors will dwindle into clerks, or the ſecretary of ſtate, as hitherto has been the courſe, will leave every thing to them, often through deſign, often through neglect. If both ſhould affect activity, colliſion, procraſtination, delay, and in the end, utter confuſion muſt enſue.

But, Sir, there is one kind of influence far greater than that of the nomination to office. This gentlemen in oppoſition have totally overlooked, although it now exiſts in its full vigour; and it will do ſo, upon their ſcheme, in at leaſt as much force as it does now. That influence this bill cuts up by the roots: I mean the *influence of protection.* I ſhall explain myſelf:—The office given to a young man going to India is of trifling conſequence. But he that goes out an inſignificant boy, in a few years returns a great nabob. Mr. Haſtings ſays he has two hundred and fifty of that kind of raw materials, who expect to be ſpeedily manufactured into the merchantable quality I mention. One of theſe gentlemen, ſuppoſe, returns hither, loaded with odium and with riches. When

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he comes to England, he comes as to a priſon, or as to a ſanctuary; and either is ready for him, according to his demeanour. What is the influence in the grant of any place in India, to that which is acquired by the protection or compromiſe with ſuch guilt, and with the command of ſuch riches, under the dominion of the hopes and fears which power is able to hold out to every man in that condition? That man's whole fortune, half a million perhaps, becomes an inſtrument of influence, without a ſhilling of charge to the civil liſt; and the influx of fortunes which ſtand in need of this protection is continual. It works both ways; it influences the delinquent, and it may corrupt the miniſter. Compare the influence acquired by appointing for inſtance even a governour general, and that obtained by protecting him. I ſhall puſh this no further. But I wiſh gentlemen to roll it a little in their own minds.

The bill before you cuts off this ſource of influence. Its deſign and main ſcope is to regulate the adminiſtration of India upon the principles of a court of judicature; and to exclude, as far as human prudence can exclude, all poſſibility of a corrupt partiality, in appointing to office, or ſupporting in office, or covering from inquiry and puniſhment, any perſon who has abuſed or ſhall abuſe his authority. At the board, as appointed and regulated by this bill, reward and puniſhment cannot

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cannot be ſhifted and reverſed by a whiſper. That commiſſion becomes fatal to cabal, to intrigue, and to ſecret repreſentation, thoſe inſtruments of the ruin of India. He that cuts off the means of premature fortune, and the power of protecting it when acquired, ſtrikes a deadly blow at the great fund, the bank, the capital ſtock of Indian influence, which cannot be veſted any where, or in any hands, without moſt dangerous conſequences to the publick.

The third and contradictory objection is, That this bill does not increaſe the influence of the crown. On the contrary, That the juſt power of the crown will be leſſened, and transferred to the uſe of a party, by giving the patronage of India to a commiſſion nominated by parliament, and independent of the crown. The contradiction is glaring, and it has been too well expoſed to make it neceſſary for me to inſiſt upon it. But paſſing the contradiction, and taking it without any relation, of all objections that is the moſt extraordinary. Do not gentlemen know, that the crown has not at preſent the grant of a ſingle office under the company, civil or military, at home or abroad? So far as the crown is concerned, it is certainly rather a gainer; for the vacant offices in the new commiſſion are to be filled up by the king.

It is argued as a part of the bill, derogatory to the prerogatives of the crown, that the commiſ-

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ſioners named in the bill are to continue for a ſhort term of years, too ſhort in my opinion; and becauſe, during that time, they are not at the mercy of every predominant faction of the court. Does not this objection lie againſt the preſent directors; none of whom are named by the crown, and a proportion of whom hold for this very term of four years? Did it not lie againſt the governour general and council named in the act of 1773—who were inveſted by name, as the preſent commiſſioners are to be appointed in the body of the act of parliament, who were to hold their places for a term of terms, and were not removable at the diſcretion of the crown? Did it not lie againſt the re-appointment, in the year 1780, upon the very ſame terms? Yet at none of theſe times, whatever other objections the ſcheme might be liable to, was it ſuppoſed to be a derogation to the juſt prerogative of the crown, that a commiſſion created by act of parliament ſhould have its members named by the authority which called it into exiſtence? This is not the diſpoſal by parliament of any office derived from the authority of the crown, or now diſpoſable by that authority. It is ſo far from being any thing new, violent, or alarming, that I do not recollect, in any parliamentary commiſſion, down to the commiſſioners of the land tax, that it has ever been otherwiſe.

The objection of the tenure for four years is an objection

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objection to all places that are not held during pleaſure; but in that objection I pronounce the gentlemen, from my knowledge of their complexion and of their principles, to be perfectly in earneſt. The party (ſay theſe gentlemen) of the miniſter who propoſes this ſcheme will be rendered powerful by it; for he will name his party friends to the commiſſion. This objection againſt party is a party objection; and in this too theſe gentlemen are perfectly ſerious. They ſee that if, by any intrigue, they ſhould ſucceed to office, they will loſe the *clandeſtine* patronage, the true inſtrument of clandeſtine influence, enjoyed in the name of ſubſervient directors, and of wealthy trembling Indian delinquents. But as often as they are beaten off this ground, they return to it again. The miniſter will name his friends, and perſons of his own party. —Whom ſhould he name? Should he name his adverſaries? Should he name thoſe whom he cannot truſt? Should he name thoſe to execute his plans, who are the declared enemies to the principles of his reform? His character is here at ſtake. If he propoſes for his own ends (but he never will propoſe) ſuch names as, from their want of rank, fortune, character, ability, or knowledge, are likely to betray or to fall ſhort of their truſt, he is in an independent houſe of commons; in a houſe of commons which has, by its own virtue, deſtroyed

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deſtroyed the inſtruments of parliamentary ſubſervience. This houſe of commons would not endure the ſound of ſuch names. He would periſh by the means which he is ſuppoſed to purſue for the ſecurity of his power. The firſt pledge he muſt give of his ſincerity in this great reform, will be in the confidence which ought to be repoſed in thoſe names.

For my part, Sir, in this buſineſs I put all indirect conſiderations wholly out of my mind. My ſole queſtion, on each clauſe of the bill, amounts to this:—Is the meaſure propoſed required by the neceſſities of India? I cannot conſent totally to loſe ſight of the real wants of the people who are the objects of it, and to hunt after every matter of party ſquabble that may be ſtarted on the ſeveral proviſions. On the queſtion of the duration of the commiſſion I am clear and decided. Can I, can any one who has taken the ſmalleſt trouble to be informed concerning the affairs of India, amuſe himſelf with ſo ſtrange an imagination, as that the habitual deſpotiſm and oppreſſion, that the monopolies, the peculations, the univerſal deſtruction of all the legal authority of this kingdom, which have been for twenty years maturing to their preſent enormity, combined with the diſtance of the ſcene, the boldneſs and artifice of delinquents, their combination, their exceſſive wealth, and the faction

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faction they have made in England, can be fully corrected in a ſhorter term than four years? None has hazarded ſuch an aſſertion—None, who has a regard for his reputation, will hazard it.

Sir, the gentlemen, whoever they are, who ſhall be appointed to this commiſſion, have an undertaking of magnitude on their hands, and their ſtability muſt not only be, but it muſt be thought, real;—and who is it will believe, that any thing ſhort of an eſtabliſhment made, ſupported, and fixed in its duration, with all the authority of parliament, can be thought ſecure of a reaſonable ſtability? The plan of my honourable friend is the reverſe of that of reforming by the authors of the abuſe. The beſt we could expect from them is, that they ſhould not continue their ancient pernicious activity. To thoſe we could think of nothing but applying *control*; as we are ſure, that even a regard to their reputation (if any ſuch thing exiſts in them) would oblige them to cover, to conceal, to ſuppreſs, and conſequently to prevent, all cure of the grievances of India. For what can be diſcovered, which is not to their diſgrace? Every attempt to correct an abuſe would be a ſatire on their former adminiſtration. Every man they ſhould pretend to call to an account, would be found their inſtrument or their accomplice. They can never ſee a beneficial regulation, but with a view to defeat it. The ſhorter the tenure

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of ſuch perſons, the better would be the chance of ſome amendment.

But the ſyſtem of the bill is different. It calls in perſons in no wiſe concerned with any act cenſured by parliament; perſons generated with, and for, the reform, of which they are themſelves the moſt eſſential part. To theſe the chief regulations in the bill are helps, not fetters; they are authorities to ſupport, not regulations to reſtrain them. From theſe we look for much more than innocence. From theſe we expect zeal, firmneſs, and unremitted activity. Their duty, their character, binds them to proceedings of vigour; and they ought to have a tenure in their office which precludes all fear, whilſt they are acting up to the purpoſes of their truſt; a tenure without which, none will undertake plans that require a ſeries and ſyſtem of acts. When they know that they cannot be whiſpered out of their duty, that their publick conduct cannot be cenſured without a publick diſcuſſion; that the ſchemes which they have begun will not be committed to thoſe who will have an intereſt and credit in defeating and diſgracing them; then we may entertain hopes. The tenure is for four years, or during their good behaviour. That good behaviour is as long as they are true to the principles of the bill; and the judgment is in either houſe of parliament. This is the tenure of your judges; and the valuable principle of the

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bill is to make a judicial adminiſtration for India. It is to give confidence in the execution of a duty, which requires as much perſeverance and fortitude as can fall to the lot of any that is born of woman.

As to the gain by party, from the right honourable gentleman's bill, let it be ſhewn, that this ſuppoſed party advantage is pernicious to its object, and the objection is of weight; but until this is done, and this has not been attempted, I ſhall conſider the ſole objection, from its tendency to promote the intereſt of a party, as altogether contemptible. The kingdom is divided into parties, and it ever has been ſo divided, and it ever will be ſo divided; and if no ſyſtem for relieving the ſubjects of this kingdom from oppreſſion, and ſnatching its affairs from ruin, can be adopted until it is demonſtrated that no party can derive an advantage from it, no good can ever be done in this country. If party is to derive an advantage from the reform of India, (which is more than I know, or believe) it ought to be that party which alone, in this kingdom, has its reputation, nay its very being, pledged to the protection and preſervation of that part of the empire. Great fear is expreſſed, that the commiſſioners named in this bill will ſhew ſome regard to a miniſter out of place. To men made like the objectors, this muſt appear criminal. Let it however be remembered by

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by others, that if the commiſſioners ſhould be his friends, they cannot be his ſlaves. But dependants are not in a condition to adhere to friends, nor to principles, nor to any uniform line of conduct. They may begin cenſors, and be obliged to end accomplices. They may be even put under the direction of thoſe whom they were appointed to puniſh.

The fourth and laſt objection is, That the bill will hurt publick credit. I do not know whether this requires an anſwer. But if it does, look to your foundations. The ſinking fund is the pillar of credit in this country; and let it not be forgot, that the diſtreſſes, owing to the miſmanagement of the Eaſt India company, have already taken a million from that fund by the non-payment of duties. The bills drawn upon the company, which are about four millions, cannot be accepted without the conſent of the treaſury. The treaſury, acting under a parliamentary truſt and authority, pledges the publick for theſe millions. If they pledge the publick, the publick muſt have a ſecurity in its hands for the management of this intereſt, or the national credit is gone. For otherwiſe it is not only the Eaſt India company, which is a great intereſt, that is undone, but, clinging to the ſecurity of all your funds, it drags down the reſt, and the whole fabrick periſhes in one ruin. If this bill does not provide a direction of integrity and of ability competent

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competent to that truſt, the objection is fatal. If it does, publick credit muſt depend on the ſupport of the bill.

It has been ſaid, if you violate this charter, what ſecurity has the charter of the bank, in which publick credit is ſo deeply concerned, and even the charter of London, in which the rights of ſo many ſubjects are involved? I anſwer, In the like caſe they have no ſecurity at all—No—no ſecurity at all. If the bank ſhould, by every ſpecies of miſmanagement, fall into a ſtate ſimilar to that of the Eaſt India company; if it ſhould be oppreſſed with demands it could not anſwer, engagements which it could not perform, and with bills for which it could not procure payment; no charter ſhould protect the miſmanagement from correction, and ſuch publick grievances from redreſs. If the city of London had the means and will of deſtroying an empire, and of cruelly oppreſſing and tyrannizing over millions of men as good as themſelves, the charter of the city of London ſhould prove no ſanction to ſuch tyranny and ſuch oppreſſion. Charters are kept, when their purpoſes are maintained: they are violated, when the privilege is ſupported againſt its end and its object.

Now, Sir, I have finiſhed all I propoſed to ſay, as my reaſons for giving my vote to this bill. If I am wrong, it is not for want of pains to know what is right. This pledge, at leaſt, of my rectitude I have given to my country.

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And now, having done my duty to the bill, let me ſay a word to the author. I ſhould leave him to his own noble ſentiments, if the unworthy and illiberal language with which he has been treated, beyond all example of parliamentary liberty, did not make a few words neceſſary; not ſo much in juſtice to him, as to my own feelings. I muſt ſay then, that it will be a diſtinction honourable to the age, that the reſcue of the greateſt number of the human race that ever were ſo grievouſly oppreſſed, from the greateſt tyranny that was ever exerciſed, has fallen to the lot of abilities and diſpoſitions equal to the taſk; that it has fallen to one who has the enlargement to comprehend, the ſpirit to undertake, and the eloquence to ſupport, ſo great a meaſure of hazardous benevolence. His ſpirit is not owing to his ignorance of the ſtate of men and things; he well knows what ſnares are ſpread about his path, from perſonal animoſity, from court intrigues, and poſſibly from popular deluſion. But he has put to hazard his eaſe, his ſecurity, his intereſt, his power, even his darling popularity, for the benefit of a people whom he has never ſeen. This is the road that all heroes have trod before him. He is traduced and abuſed for his ſuppoſed motives. He will remember, that obloquy is a neceſſary ingredient in the compoſition of all true glory: he will remember, that it was not only in the Roman cuſtoms, but it is in the nature and conſtitution of things, that calumny

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and abuſe are eſſential parts of triumph. Theſe thoughts will ſupport a mind, which only exiſts for honour, under the burthen of temporary reproach. He is doing indeed a great good; ſuch as rarely falls to the lot, and almoſt as rarely coincides with the deſires, of any man. Let him uſe his time. Let him give the whole length of the reins to his benevolence. He is now on a great eminence, where the eyes of mankind are turned to him. He may live long, he may do much. But here is the ſummit. He never can exceed what he does this day.

He has faults; but they are faults that, though they may in a ſmall degree tarniſh the luſtre, and ſometimes impede the march of his abilities, have nothing in them to extinguiſh the fire of great virtues. In thoſe faults, there is no mixture of deceit, of hypocriſy, of pride, of ferocity, of complexional deſpotiſm, or want of feeling for the diſtreſſes of mankind. His are faults which might exiſt in a deſcendant of Henry the Fourth of France, as they did exiſt in that father of his country. Henry the Fourth wiſhed that he might live to ſee a fowl in the pot of every peaſant in his kingdom. That ſentiment of homely benevolence was worth all the ſplendid ſayings that are recorded of kings. But he wiſhed perhaps for more than could be obtained, and the goodneſs of the man exceeded the power of the king. But this gentleman, a ſubject,

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may this day ſay this at leaſt, with truth, that he ſecures the rice in his pot to every man in India. A poet of antiquity thought it one of the firſt diſtinctions to a prince whom he meant to celebrate, that through a long ſucceſſion of generations, he had been the progenitor of an able and virtuous citizen, who by force of the arts of peace, had corrected governments of oppreſſion, and ſuppreſſed wars of rapine.

Indole proh quanta juvenis, quantumque daturus
Auſoniæ populis, ventura in ſæcula civem.
Ille ſuper Gangem, ſuper exauditus et Indos,
Implebit terras voce; et furialia bella
Fulmine compescet linguæ.——

This was what was ſaid of the predeceſſor of the only perſon to whoſe eloquence it does not wrong that of the mover of this bill to be compared. But the Ganges and the Indus are the patrimony of the fame of my honourable friend, and not of Cicero. I confeſs, I anticipate with joy the reward of thoſe, whoſe whole conſequence, power, and authority, exiſt only for the benefit of mankind; and I carry my mind to all the people, and all the names and deſcriptions, that, relieved by this bill, will bleſs the labours of this parliament, and the confidence which the beſt houſe of commons has given to him who the beſt deſerves it. The little cavils of party will not be heard, where freedom and

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and happineſs will be felt. There is not a tongue, a nation, or religion in India, which will not bleſs the preſiding care and manly beneficence of this houſe, and of him who propoſes to you this great work. Your names will never be ſeparated before the throne of the Divine Goodneſs, in whatever language, or with whatever rites, pardon is aſked for ſin, and reward for thoſe who imitate the Godhead in his univerſal bounty to his creatures. Theſe honours you deſerve, and they will ſurely be paid, when all the jargon of influence, and party, and patronage, are ſwept into oblivion.

I have ſpoken what I think, and what I feel, of the mover of this bill. An honourable friend of mine, ſpeaking of his merits, was charged with having made a ſtudied panegyrick. I don't know what his was. Mine, I am ſure, is a ſtudied panegyrick; the fruit of much meditation; the reſult of the obſervation of near twenty years. For my own part, I am happy that I have lived to ſee this day; I feel myſelf overpaid for the labours of eighteen years, when, at this late period, I am able to take my ſhare, by one humble vote, in deſtroying a tyranny that exiſts to the diſgrace of this nation, and the deſtruction of ſo large a part of the human ſpecies.

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A

REPRESENTATION

TO

HIS MAJESTY,

MOVED IN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

BY THE

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE,

AND SECONDED BY

WILLIAM WINDHAM, ESQ.

On Monday, June 14, 1784, and negatived.

WITH

A PREFACE AND NOTES.

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PREFACE.

THE repreſentation now given to the publick relates to ſome of the moſt eſſential privileges of the houſe of commons. It would appear of little importance, if it were to be judged by its reception in the place where it was propoſed. There it was rejected without debate. The ſubject matter may, perhaps, hereafter appear to merit a more ſerious conſideration. Thinking men will ſcarcely regard the *penal* diſſolution of a parliament as a very trifling concern. Such a diſſolution muſt operate forcibly as an example; and it much imports the people of this kingdom to conſider what leſſon that example is to teach.

The late houſe of commons was not accuſed of an intereſted compliance to the will of a court. The charge againſt them was of a different nature. They were charged with being actuated by an extravagant ſpirit of independency. This ſpecies of offence is ſo cloſely connected with merit; this vice bears ſo near a reſemblance to virtue; that the flight of a houſe of commons above the exact temperate medium of independence, ought to

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be correctly aſcertained, leſt we give encouragement to diſpoſitions of a leſs generous nature, and leſs ſafe for the people; we ought to call for very ſolid and convincing proofs of the exiſtence, and of the magnitude too of the evils, which are charged to an independent ſpirit, before we give ſanction to any meaſure, that by checking a ſpirit ſo eaſily damped, and ſo hard to be excited, may affect the liberty of a part of our conſtitution, which, if not free, is worſe than uſeleſs.

The Editor does not deny, that by poſſibility ſuch an abuſe may exiſt: but *primâ fronte*, there is no reaſon to preſume it. The houſe of commons is not, by its complexion, peculiarly ſubject to the diſtempers of an independent habit. Very little compulſion is neceſſary, on the part of the people, to render it abundantly complaiſant to miniſters and favourites of all deſcriptions. It required a great length of time, very conſiderable induſtry and perſeverance, no vulgar policy, the union of many men and many tempers, and the concurrence of events which do not happen every day, to build up an independent houſe of commons. Its demolition was accompliſhed in a moment; and it was the work of ordinary hands. But to conſtruct is a matter of ſkill; to demoliſh, force and fury are ſufficient.

The late houſe of commons has been puniſhed for its independence. That example is made. Have

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Have we an example on record, of a houſe of commons puniſhed for its ſervility? The rewards of a ſenate ſo diſpoſed, are manifeſt to the world. Several gentlemen are very deſirous of altering the conſtitution of the houſe of commons: but they muſt alter the frame and conſtitution of human nature itſelf, before they can ſo faſhion it by any mode of election, that its conduct will not be influenced by reward and puniſhment; by fame, and by diſgrace. If theſe examples take root in the minds of men, what members hereafter will be bold enough not to be corrupt? Eſpecially as the king's high-way of obſequiouſneſs is ſo very broad and eaſy. To make a paſſive member of parliament, no dignity of mind, no principles of honour, no reſolution, no ability, no induſtry, no learning, no experience are in the leaſt degree neceſſary. To defend a poſt of importance againſt a powerful enemy, requires an Elliot; a drunken invalid is qualified to hoiſt a white flag, or to deliver up the keys of the fortreſs on his knees.

The gentlemen choſen into this parliament, for the purpoſe of this ſurrender, were bred to better things; and are no doubt qualified for other ſervice. But for this ſtrenuous exertion of inactivity, for the vigorous taſk of ſubmiſſion and paſſive obedience, all their learning and ability are rather a matter of perſonal ornament to themſelves, than

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than of the leaſt uſe in the performance of their duty.

The preſent ſurrender, therefore, of rights and privileges, without examination, and the reſolution to ſupport any miniſter given by the ſecret adviſers of the crown, determines not only on all the power and authority of the houſe, but it ſettles the character and deſcription of the men who are to compoſe it; and perpetuates that character as long as it may be thought expedient to keep up a phantom of popular repreſentation.

It is for the chance of ſome amendment before this new ſettlement takes a permanent form, and while the matter is yet ſoft and ductile, that the Editor has republiſhed this piece, and added ſome notes and explanations to it. His intentions, he hopes, will excuſe him to the original mover, and to the world. He acts from a ſtrong ſenſe of the incurable ill effects of holding out the conduct of the late houſe of commons, as an example to be ſhunned by future repreſentatives of the people.

MOTION

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MOTION

RELATIVE TO THE

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.

Lunæ, 14° Die Junij, 1784.

A MOTION was made, That a repreſentation be preſented to his majeſty, moſt humbly to offer to his royal conſideration, that the addreſs of this houſe, upon his majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, was dictated ſolely by our conviction of his majeſty's own moſt gracious intentions towards his people, which, as we feel with gratitude, ſo we are ever ready to acknowledge with chearfulneſs and ſatisfaction.

Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, we were willing to ſeparate from our general expreſſions of duty, reſpect, and veneration to his majeſty's royal perſon and his princely virtues, all diſcuſſion whatever, with relation to ſeveral of the matters ſuggeſted, and ſeveral of the expreſſions employed in that ſpeech.

That

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That it was not fit or becoming, that any decided opinion ſhould be formed by his faithful commons, on that ſpeech, without a degree of deliberation adequate to the importance of the object. Having afforded ourſelves due time for that deliberation, we do now moſt humbly beg leave to repreſent to his majeſty, that, in the ſpeech from the throne, his miniſters have thought proper to uſe a language of a very alarming import, unauthorized by the practice of good times, and irreconcileable to the principles of this government.

Humbly to expreſs to his majeſty, that it is the privilege and duty of this houſe to guard the conſtitution from all infringement on the part of miniſters; and whenever the occaſion requires it, to warn them againſt any abuſe of the authorities committed to them; but it is very lately,* that in a manner not more unſeemly than irregular and prepoſterous, miniſters have thought proper, by admonition from the throne, implying diſtruſt and reproach, to convey the expectations of the people to us, their ſole repreſentatives;† and have

* See King's Speech, Dec. 5, 1782, and May 19, 1784.

† "I will never ſubmit to the doctrines I have heard this day from the woolſack, that the other houſe [houſe of commons] are the only repreſentatives and guardians of the people's rights; I boldly maintain the contrary—I ſay this houſe [houſe of lords] *is equally the repreſentatives of the people.*" *Lord Shelburne's ſpeech, April 8, 1778. Vide Parliamentary Regiſter*, vol. 10, page 392.

preſumed

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preſumed to caution us, the natural guardians of the conſtitution, againſt any infringement of it on our parts.

This dangerous innovation we, his faithful commons, think it our duty to mark; and as theſe admonitions from the throne, by their frequent repetition, ſeem intended to lead gradually to the eſtabliſhment of an uſage, we hold ourſelves bound thus ſolemnly to proteſt againſt them.

This houſe will be, as it ever ought to be, anxiouſly attentive to the inclinations and intereſts of its conſtituents: nor do we deſire to ſtraiten any of the avenues to the throne, or to either houſe of parliament. But the ancient order, in which the rights of the people have been exerciſed, is not a reſtriction of theſe rights. It is a method providently framed in favour of thoſe privileges, which it preſerves and enforces by keeping in that courſe which has been found the moſt effectual for anſwering their ends. His majeſty may receive the opinions and wiſhes of individuals under their ſignatures, and of bodies corporate under their ſeals, as expreſſing their own particular ſenſe: and he may grant ſuch redreſs as the legal powers of the crown enable the crown to afford. This, and the other houſe of parliament, may alſo receive the wiſhes of ſuch corporations and individuals by petition. The collective ſenſe of his people his majeſty is to receive from his commons in parliament

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ment assembled. It would destroy the whole spirit of the constitution, if his commons were to receive that sense from the ministers of the crown, or to admit them to be a proper or a regular channel for conveying it.

That the ministers in the said speech declare, "His majesty has a just and confident reliance, "that we (his faithful commons) are animated "with the same sentiments of loyalty, and the "same attachment to our excellent constitution, "which he had the happiness to see so fully mani-"fested in every part of the kingdom."

To represent, that his faithful commons have never failed in loyalty to his majesty. It is new to them to be reminded of it. It is unnecessary and invidious to press it upon them by any example. This recommendation of loyalty, after his majesty has sat for so many years, with the full support of all descriptions of his subjects, on the throne of this kingdom, at a time of profound peace, and without any pretence of the existence or apprehension of war or conspiracy, becomes in itself a source of no small jealousy to his faithful commons; as many circumstances lead us to apprehend that therein the ministers have reference to some other measures and principles of loyalty, and to some other ideas of the constitution, than the laws require, or the practice of parliament will admit.

No

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No regular communication of the proofs of loyalty and attachment to the conſtitution, alluded to in the ſpeech from the throne, have been laid before this houſe, in order to enable us to judge of the nature, tendency, or occaſion of them; or in what particular acts they were diſplayed; but if we are to ſuppoſe the manifeſtations of loyalty (which are held out to us as an example for imitation) conſiſt in certain addreſſes delivered to his majeſty, promiſing ſupport to his majeſty in the exerciſe of his prerogative, and thanking his majeſty for removing certain of his miniſters, on account of the votes they have given upon bills depending in parliament,—if this be the example of loyalty alluded to in the ſpeech from the throne, then we muſt beg leave to expreſs our ſerious concern for the impreſſion which has been made on any of our fellow-ſubjects by miſrepreſentations, which have ſeduced them into a ſeeming approbation of proceedings ſubverſive of their own freedom. We conceive, that the opinions delivered in theſe papers were not well conſidered; nor were the parties duly informed of the nature of the matters on which they were called to determine, nor of thoſe proceedings of parliament which they were led to cenſure.

We ſhall act more adviſedly.—The loyalty we ſhall manifeſt will not be the ſame with theirs; but, we truſt, it will be equally ſincere, and more enlightened

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enlightened. It is no ſlight authority which ſhall perſuade us (by receiving as proofs of loyalty the miſtaken principles lightly taken up in theſe addreſſes) obliquely to criminate, with the heavy and ungrounded charge of diſloyalty and diſaffection, an uncorrupt, independent, and reforming parliament.* Above all, we ſhall take care that none of

* In that parliament the houſe of commons by two ſeveral reſolutions put an end to the American war. Immediately on the change of miniſtry, which enſued, in order to ſecure their own independence, and to prevent the accumulation of new burthens on the people by the growth of a civil liſt debt, they paſſed the eſtabliſhment bill. By that bill thirty-ſix offices tenable by members of parliament were ſuppreſſed; and an order of payment was framed, by which the growth of any freſh debt was rendered impracticable. The debt on the civil liſt from the beginning of the preſent reign had amounted to one million three hundred thouſand pounds and upwards. Another act was paſſed for regulating the office of the paymaſter general, and the offices ſubordinate to it. A million of publick money had ſometimes been in the hands of the paymaſters: this act prevented the poſſibility of any money whatſoever being accumulated in that office in future. The offices of the exchequer, whoſe emoluments in time of war were exceſſive, and grew in exact proportion to the publick burthens, were regulated; ſome of them ſuppreſſed, and the reſt reduced to fixed ſalaries. To ſecure the freedom of election againſt the crown, a bill was paſſed to diſqualify all officers concerned in the collection of the revenue in any of its branches from voting in elections; a moſt important act, not only with regard to its primary object, the freedom of election, but as materially forwarding the due collection of revenue. For the ſame end, (the preſerving the freedom of election) the houſe reſcinded the

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of the rights and privileges, always claimed, and ſince the acceſſion of his majeſty's illuſtrious family conſtantly exerciſed by this houſe (and which we hold and exerciſe in truſt for the commons of Great Britain, and for their benefit) ſhall be conſtructively ſurrendered, or even weakened and impaired under ambiguous phraſes, and implications of cenſure on the late parliamentary proceedings. If theſe claims are not well-founded, they ought to be honeſtly abandoned; if they are juſt, they ought to be ſteadily and reſolutely maintained.

Of his majeſty's own gracious diſpoſition towards the true principles of our free conſtitution, his faithful commons never did, or could entertain a doubt: but we humbly beg leave to expreſs

the famous judgment relative to the Middleſex election, and expunged it from the journals. On the principle of reformation of their own houſe, connected with a principle of publick œconomy, an act paſſed for rendering contractors with government incapable of a ſeat in parliament. The India Bill, (unfortunately loſt in the houſe of lords) purſued the ſame idea to its completion; and diſabled all ſervants of the Eaſt India company from a ſeat in that houſe for a certain time, and until their conduct was examined into and cleared. The remedy of infinite corruptions and of infinite diſorders and oppreſſions, as well as the ſecurity of the moſt important objects of publick œconomy, periſhed with that bill and that parliament. That parliament alſo inſtituted a committee to inquire into the collection of the revenue in all its branches, which proſecuted its duty with great vigour; and ſuggeſted ſeveral material improvements.

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to his majeſty our uneaſineſs concerning other new and unuſual expreſſions of his miniſters, declaratory of a reſolution " to ſupport in their *juſt* " *balance*, the rights and privileges of every branch " of the legiſlature."

It were deſirable that all hazardous theories concerning a balance of rights and privileges (a mode of expreſſion wholly foreign to parliamentary uſage) might have been forborne. His majeſty's faithful commons are well inſtructed in their own rights and privileges, which they are determined to maintain on the footing upon which they were handed down from their anceſtors: they are not unacquainted with the rights and privileges of the houſe of peers; and they know and reſpect the lawful prerogatives of the crown: but they do not think it ſafe to admit any thing concerning the exiſtence of a balance of thoſe rights, privileges, and prerogatives; nor are they able to diſcern to what objects miniſters would apply their fiction of balance; nor what they would conſider as a juſt one. Theſe unauthorized doctrines have a tendency to ſtir improper diſcuſſions; and to lead to miſchievous innovations in the conſtitution.*

That

* If theſe ſpeculations are let looſe, the houſe of lords may quarrel with their ſhare of the legiſlature, as being limited with regard to the origination of grants to the crown and the origination of money bills. The advifers of the crown may think proper

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That his faithful commons moſt humbly recommend, inſtead of the inconſiderate ſpeculations of unexperienced men, that on all occaſions, reſort

per to bring its negative into ordinary uſe; and even to diſpute, whether a mere negative, compared with the deliberative power, exerciſed in the other houſes, be ſuch a ſhare in the legiſlature, as to produce a due balance in favour of that branch; and thus juſtify the previous interference of the crown, in the manner lately uſed. The following will ſerve to ſhew how much foundation there is for great caution, concerning theſe novel ſpeculations. Lord Shelburne, in his celebrated ſpeech, April 8th, 1778, expreſſes himſelf as follows: Vide *Parliamentary Regiſter*, vol. x.

"The noble and learned lord on the woolſack, in the debate "which opened the buſineſs of this day, aſſerted that your lord-"ſhips were incompetent to make any alteration in a money "bill, or a bill of ſupply. I ſhould be glad to ſee the matter "fully and fairly diſcuſſed, and the ſubject brought forward and "argued upon precedent, as well as all its collateral relations. "I ſhould be pleaſed to ſee the queſtion fairly committed, were "it for no other reaſon, but to hear the ſleek ſmooth contrac-"tors from the other houſe, come to this bar and declare, that "they, and they only, *could frame a money bill*; and they, and "they *only*, could diſpoſe of the *property of the peers of Great Bri-"tain*. Perhaps ſome arguments more plauſible than thoſe I "heard this day from the woolſack, to ſhew that the commons "have an uncontrolable, unqualified right, to bind your lord-"ſhips' property, may be urged by them. At preſent, I beg "leave to differ from the noble and learned lord; for until the "claim, after a ſolemn diſcuſſion of the houſe, is openly and "directly relinquiſhed, I ſhall continue to be of opinion, that "your lordſhips have a right to *alter*, *amend*, or reject a money "bill."

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reſort ſhould be had to the happy practice of parliament, and to thoſe ſolid maxims of government which have prevailed ſince the acceſſion of his majeſty's illuſtrious family, as furniſhing the only ſafe principles on which the crown and parliament can proceed.

We think it the more neceſſary to be cautious on this head, as, in the laſt parliament, the preſent miniſters had thought proper to countenance, if not to ſuggeſt, an attack upon the moſt clear and undoubted rights and privileges of this houſe.*

Fearing

The duke of Richmond alſo, in his letter to the volunteers of Ireland, ſpeaks of ſeveral of the powers exerciſed by the houſe of commons, in the light of uſurpations; and his grace is of opinion, that when the people are reſtored to what he conceives to be their rights, in electing the houſe of commons, the other branches of the legiſlature ought to be reſtored to theirs. Vide *Remembrancer*, vol. xvi.

* By an act of parliament, the directors of the Eaſt India company are reſtrained from acceptance of bills drawn from India, beyond a certain amount, without the conſent of the commiſſioners of the treaſury. The late houſe of commons finding bills to an immenſe amount, drawn upon that body by their ſervants abroad, and knowing their circumſtances to be exceedingly doubtful, came to a reſolution providently cautioning the lords of the treaſury againſt the acceptance of theſe bills, until the houſe ſhould otherwiſe direct. The court lords then took occaſion to declare againſt the reſolution as illegal, by the commons undertaking to direct in the execution of a truſt created by act of parliament. The houſe juſtly alarmed at this reſolution, which went to the deſtruction of the whole of its ſuperintending capacity,

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Fearing, from theſe extraordinary admonitions, and from the new doctrines, which ſeem to have dictated ſeveral unuſual expreſſions, that his majeſty has been abuſed by falſe repreſentations of the late proceedings in parliament, we think it our duty reſpectfully to inform his majeſty, that no attempt whatever has been made againſt his lawful prerogatives, or againſt the rights and privileges of the peers, by the late houſe of commons, in any of their addreſſes, votes, or reſolutions: neither do we know of any proceeding by bill, in which it was propoſed to abridge the extent of his royal prerogative: but, if ſuch proviſion had exiſted in any bill, we proteſt, and we declare, againſt all ſpeeches, acts or addreſſes, from any perſons whatſoever, which have a tendency to conſider ſuch bills, or the perſons concerned in them, as juſt objects of any kind of cenſure and puniſhment from the throne. Neceſſary reformations may hereafter require, as they have frequently done in former times, limitations and abridgments, and

city, and particularly in matters relative to its own province of money, directed a committee to ſearch the journals, and they found a regular ſeries of precedents, commencing from the remoteſt of thoſe records, and carried on to that day, by which it appeared, that the houſe interfered by an authoritative advice and admonition, upon every act of executive government without exception; and in many much ſtronger caſes than that which the lords thought proper to quarrel with.

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in ſome caſes an entire extinction of ſome branch of prerogative. If bills ſhould be improper in the form in which they appear in the houſe where they originate, they are liable, by the wiſdom of this conſtitution, to be corrected, and even to be totally ſet aſide, elſewhere. This is the known, the legal, and the ſafe remedy: but whatever, by the manifeſtation of the royal diſpleaſure, tends to intimidate individual members from propoſing, or this houſe from receiving, debating, and paſſing bills, tends to prevent even the beginning of every reformation in the ſtate; and utterly deſtroys the deliberative capacity of parliament.—We therefore claim, demand, and inſiſt upon it, as our undoubted right, that no perſons ſhall be deemed proper objects of animadverſion by the crown, in any mode whatever, for the votes which they give, or the propoſitions which they make, in parliament.

We humbly conceive, that beſides its ſhare of the legiſlative power, and its right of impeachment, that by the law and uſage of parliament, this houſe has other powers and capacities, which it is bound to maintain. This houſe is aſſured, that our humble advice on the exerciſe of prerogative will be heard with the ſame attention with which it has ever been regarded; and that it will be followed by the ſame effects which it has ever produced, during the happy and glorious reigns of

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of his majeſty's royal progenitors; not doubting but that, in all thoſe points, we ſhall be conſidered as a council of wiſdom and weight to adviſe, and not merely as an accuſer of competence to criminate.* This houſe claims both capacities; and we truſt that we ſhall be left to our free diſcretion which of them we ſhall employ as beſt calculated for his majeſty's, and the national ſervice.—Whenever we ſhall ſee it expedient to offer our advice concerning his majeſty's ſervants, who are thoſe of the publick, we confidently hope, that the perſonal favour of any miniſter, or any ſet of miniſters, will not be more dear to his majeſty, than the credit and character of a houſe of commons. It is an experiment full of peril to put the repreſentative wiſdom and juſtice of his majeſty's people in the wrong; it is a crooked and deſperate deſign, leading to miſchief, the extent of which no human wiſdom can foreſee, to attempt to form a prerogative party in the nation, to be reſorted to as occaſion ſhall require, in derogation from the authority of the commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled: it is a contrivance full of danger, for miniſters to ſet up the repreſentative and

* "I obſerve at the ſame time, that there is *no charge or complaint* ſuggeſted againſt my preſent miniſters."—*The king's anſwer, 25th February 1784, to the addreſs of the houſe of commons.* Vide *Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons, printed for Debrett*, p. 31.

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conſtituent bodies of the commons of this kingdom as two ſeparate and diſtinct powers, formed to counterpoiſe each other, leaving the preference in the hands of ſecret adviſers of the crown. In ſuch a ſituation of things, theſe adviſers, taking advantage of the differences which may accidentally ariſe, or may purpoſely be fomented between them, will have it in their choice to reſort to the one or the other, as may beſt ſuit the purpoſes of their ſiniſter ambition. By exciting an emulation and conteſt between the repreſentative and the conſtituent bodies, as parties contending for credit and influence at the throne, ſacrifices will be made by both; and the whole can end in nothing elſe than the deſtruction of the deareſt rights and liberties of the nation. If there muſt be another mode of conveying the collective ſenſe of the people to the throne than that by the houſe of commons, it ought to be fixed and defined, and its authority ought to be ſettled: it ought not to exiſt in ſo precarious and dependent a ſtate as that miniſters ſhould have it in their power, at their own mere pleaſure, to acknowledge it with reſpect, or to reject it with ſcorn.

It is the undoubted prerogative of the crown to diſſolve parliament; but we beg leave to lay before his majeſty, that it is, of all the truſts veſted in his majeſty, the moſt critical and delicate, and that in which this houſe has the moſt reaſon

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to require, not only the good faith, but the favour of the crown. His commons are not always upon a par with his miniſters in an application to popular judgment: it is not in the power of the members of this houſe to go to their election at the moment the moſt favourable for them. It is in the power of the crown to chooſe a time for their diſſolution whilſt great and arduous matters of ſtate and legiſlation are depending, which may be eaſily miſunderſtood, and which cannot be fully explained before that miſunderſtanding may prove fatal to the honour that belongs, and to the conſideration that is due, to members of parliament.

With his majeſty is the gift of all the rewards, the honours, diſtinctions, favour, and graces of the ſtate; with his majeſty is the mitigation of all the rigours of the law; and we rejoice to ſee the crown poſſeſſed of truſts calculated to obtain goodwill, and charged with duties which are popular and pleaſing. Our truſts are of a different kind. Our duties are harſh and invidious in their nature; and juſtice and ſafety is all we can expect in the exerciſe of them. We are to offer ſalutary, which is not always pleaſing, counſel: we are to inquire and to accuſe: and the objects of our inquiry and charge will be for the moſt part perſons of wealth, power, and extenſive connections: we are to make rigid laws for the preſervation of revenue, which of neceſſity more or leſs confine

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ſome action, or reſtrain ſome function, which before was free: what is the moſt critical and invidious of all, the whole body of the publick impoſitions originate from us, and the hand of the houſe of commons is ſeen and felt in every burthen that preſſes on the people. Whilſt, ultimately, we are ſerving them, and in the firſt inſtance whilſt we are ſerving his majeſty, it will be hard, indeed, if we ſhould ſee a houſe of commons the victim of its zeal and fidelity, ſacrificed by his miniſters to thoſe very popular diſcontents which ſhall be excited by our dutiful endeavours for the ſecurity and greatneſs of his throne. No other conſequence can reſult from ſuch an example, but that, in future, the houſe of commons, conſulting its ſafety at the expence of its duties, and ſuffering the whole energy of the ſtate to be relaxed, will ſhrink from every ſervice, which, however neceſſary, is of a great and arduous nature; or that, willing to provide for the publick neceſſities, and, at the ſame time, to ſecure the means of performing that taſk, they will exchange independence for protection, and will court a ſubſervient exiſtence through the favour of thoſe miniſters of ſtate, or thoſe ſecret adviſers, who ought themſelves to ſtand in awe of the commons of this realm.

A houſe of commons, reſpected by his miniſters, is eſſential to his majeſty's ſervice: it is fit that they ſhould yield to parliament, and not that

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parliament should be new modelled until it is fitted to their purpoſes. If our authority is only to be held up when we coincide in opinion with his majeſty's adviſers, but is to be ſet at nought the moment it differs from them, the houſe of commons will ſink into a mere appendage of adminiſtration; and will loſe that independent character which, inſeparably connecting the honour and reputation with the acts of this houſe, enables us to afford a real, effective, and ſubſtantial ſupport to his government. It is the deference ſhewn to our opinion, when we diſſent from the ſervants of the crown, which alone can give authority to the proceedings of this houſe, when it concurs with their meaſures.

That authority once loſt, the credit of his majeſty's crown will be impaired in the eyes of all nations. Foreign powers, who may yet wiſh to revive a friendly intercourſe with this nation, will look in vain for that hold which gave a connection with Great Britain the preference to an alliance with any other ſtate. A houſe of commons, of which miniſters were known to ſtand in awe, where every thing was neceſſarily diſcuſſed, on principles fit to be openly and publickly avowed, and which could not be retracted or varied without danger, furniſhed a ground of confidence in the publick faith, which the engagement of no ſtate dependent on the fluctuation of perſonal favour,

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vour, and private advice, can ever pretend to. If faith with the houſe of commons, the grand ſecurity for the national faith itſelf, can be broken with impunity, a wound is given to the political importance of Great Britain, which will not eaſily be healed.

That there was a great variance between the late houſe of commons and certain perſons, whom his majeſty has been adviſed to make and continue as miniſters, in defiance of the advice of that houſe, is notorious to the world. That houſe did not confide in thoſe miniſters; and they withheld their confidence from them for reaſons for which poſterity will honour and reſpect the names of thoſe who compoſed that houſe of commons, diſtinguiſhed for its independence. They could not confide in perſons who have ſhewn a diſpoſition to dark and dangerous intrigues. By theſe intrigues they have weakened, if not deſtroyed, the clear aſſurance which his majeſty's people, and which all nations ought to have, of what are, and what are not, the real acts of his government.

If it ſhould be ſeen that his miniſters may continue in their offices, without any ſignification to them of his majeſty's diſpleaſure at any of their meaſures, whilſt perſons conſiderable for their rank, and known to have had acceſs to his majeſty's ſacred perſon, can with impunity abuſe that advantage, and employ his majeſty's name to diſ-

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avow and counteract the proceedings of his official ſervants, nothing but diſtruſt, diſcord, debility, contempt of all authority, and general confuſion, can prevail in his government.

This we lay before his majeſty, with humility and concern, as the inevitable effect of a ſpirit of intrigue in his executive government; an evil which we have but too much reaſon to be perſuaded exiſts and increaſes. During the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion it broke out in a manner the moſt alarming. This evil was infinitely aggravated by the unauthorized, but not diſavowed uſe which has been made of his majeſty's name, for the purpoſe of the moſt unconſtitutional, corrupt, and diſhonourable influence on the minds of the members of parliament, that ever was practiſed in this kingdom. No attention, even to the exterior decorum, in the practice of corruption, and intimidation employed on peers, was obſerved: ſeveral peers were obliged under menaces to retract their declarations, and to recall their proxies.

The commons have the deepeſt intereſt in the purity and integrity of the peerage. The peers diſpoſe of all the property in the kingdom, in the laſt reſort; and they diſpoſe of it on their honour and not on their oaths, as all the members of every other tribunal in the kingdom muſt do; though in them the proceeding is not concluſive. We have, therefore, a right to demand that no application

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application ſhall be made to peers of ſuch a nature as may give room to call in queſtion, much leſs to attaint, our ſole ſecurity for all that we poſſeſs. This corrupt proceeding appeared to the houſe of commons, who are the natural guardians of the purity of parliament, and of the purity of every branch of judicature, a moſt reprehenſible and dangerous practice, tending to ſhake the very foundation of the authority of the houſe of peers; and they branded it as ſuch by their reſolution.

The houſe had not ſufficient evidence to enable them legally to puniſh this practice, but they had enough to caution them againſt all confidence in the authors and abettors of it. They performed their duty in humbly adviſing his majeſty againſt the employment of ſuch miniſters; but his majeſty was adviſed to keep thoſe miniſters, and to diſſolve that parliament. The houſe, aware of the importance and urgency of its duty with regard to the Britiſh intereſts in India, which were and are in the utmoſt diſorder, and in the utmoſt peril, moſt humbly requeſted his majeſty not to diſſolve the parliament during the courſe of their very critical proceedings on that ſubject. His majeſty's gracious condeſcenſion to that requeſt was conveyed in the royal faith, pledged to a houſe of parliament, and ſolemnly delivered from the throne. It was but a very few days after a committee had been, with the conſent and concurrence

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rence of the chancellor of the exchequer, appointed for an inquiry into certain accounts delivered to the houſe by the court of directors, and then actually engaged in that inquiry, that the miniſters, regardleſs of the aſſurance given from the crown to a houſe of commons, did diſſolve that parliament. We moſt humbly ſubmit to his majeſty's conſideration the conſequences of this their breach of publick faith.

Whilſt the members of the houſe of commons, under that ſecurity, were engaged in his majeſty's and the national buſineſs, endeavours were induſtriouſly uſed to calumniate thoſe whom it was found impracticable to corrupt. The reputation of the members, and the reputation of the houſe itſelf, was undermined in every part of the kingdom.

In the ſpeech from the throne relative to India, we are cautioned by the miniſters, "not to loſe "ſight of the effect any meaſure may have on the "conſtitution of our country." We are apprehenſive that a calumnious report ſpread abroad of an attack upon his majeſty's prerogative by the late houſe of commons, may have made an impreſſion on his royal mind, and have given occaſion to this unuſual admonition to the preſent. This attack is charged to have been made in the late parliament, by a bill which paſſed the houſe of commons in the late ſeſſion of that parliament, for

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for the regulation of the affairs, for the preſervation of the commerce, and for the amendment of the government of this nation, in the Eaſt Indies.

That his majeſty and his people may have an opportunity of entering into the ground of this injurious charge, we beg leave humbly to acquaint his majeſty, that, far from having made any infringement whatſoever on any part of his royal prerogative, that bill did, for a limited time, give to his majeſty certain powers never before poſſeſſed by the crown; and for this his preſent miniſters (who, rather than fall ſhort in the number of their calumnies, employ ſome that are contradictory) have ſlandered this houſe, as aiming at the extenſion of an unconſtitutional influence in his majeſty's crown. This pretended attempt to increaſe the influence of the crown, they were weak enough to endeavour to perſuade his majeſty's people was amongſt the cauſes which excited his majeſty's reſentment againſt his late miniſters.

Further, to remove the impreſſions of this calumny concerning an attempt in the houſe of commons againſt his prerogative, it is proper to inform his majeſty, that the territorial poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies never have been declared, by any publick judgment, act, or inſtrument, or any reſolution of parliament whatſoever, to be the ſubject matter of his majeſty's prerogative; nor have they ever been underſtood as belonging to his ordinary adminiſtration,

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adminiſtration, or to be annexed or united to his crown; but that they are acquiſitions of a new and peculiar deſcription,* unknown to the ancient executive conſtitution of this country.

From time to time, therefore, parliament provided for their government according to its diſcretion, and to its opinion of what was required

* The territorial poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies were acquired to the company, in virtue of grants from the Great Mogul, in the nature of offices and juriſdictions, to be held under *him*, and dependent upon *his* crown; with the expreſs condition of being obedient to orders from *his* court, and of paying an annual tribute to *his* treaſury. It is true, that no obedience is yielded to theſe orders; and for ſome time paſt there has been no payment made of this tribute. But it is under a grant, ſo conditioned, that they ſtill hold. To ſubject the king of Great Britain as tributary to a foreign power, by the acts of his ſubjects—to ſuppoſe the grant valid, and yet the condition void—to ſuppoſe it good for the king, and inſufficient for the company—to ſuppoſe it an intereſt diviſible between the parties;—theſe are ſome few of the many legal difficulties to be ſurmounted, before the common law of England can acknowledge the Eaſt India company's Aſiatick affairs to be a ſubject matter of *prerogative*, ſo as to bring it within the verge of Engliſh juriſprudence. It is a very anomalous ſpecies of power and property which is held by the Eaſt India company. Our Engliſh prerogative law does not furniſh principles, much leſs precedents, by which it can be defined or adjuſted. Nothing but the eminent dominion of parliament over every Britiſh ſubject in every concern, and in every circumſtance in which he is placed, can adjuſt this new intricate matter. Parliament may act wiſely or unwiſely, juſtly or unjuſtly; but parliament alone is competent to it.

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by the publick neceſſities. We do not know that his majeſty was entitled, by prerogative, to exerciſe any act of authority whatſoever in the company's affairs, or that in effect, ſuch authority has ever been exerciſed. His majeſty's patronage was not taken away by that bill; becauſe it is notorious that his majeſty never originally had the appointment of a ſingle officer, civil or military, in the company's eſtabliſhment in India; nor has the leaſt degree of patronage ever been acquired to the crown in any other manner or meaſure, than as the power was thought expedient to be granted by act of parliament; that is, by the very ſame authority by which the offices were diſpoſed of and regulated in the bill, which his majeſty's ſervants have falſely and injurioufly repreſented as infringing upon the prerogative of the crown.

Before the year 1773 the whole adminiſtration of India, and the whole patronage to office there, was in the hands of the Eaſt India company. The Eaſt India company is not a branch of his majeſty's prerogative adminiſtration, nor does that body exerciſe any ſpecies of authority under it, nor indeed from any Britiſh title, that does not derive all its legal validity from acts of parliament.

When a claim was aſſerted to the India territorial poſſeſſions in the occupation of the company, theſe poſſeſſions were not claimed as parcel of his majeſty's patrimonial eſtate, or as a fruit of the ancient

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ancient inheritance of his crown. They were claimed for the publick. And when agreements were made with the Eaſt India company concerning any compoſition for the holding, or any participation of the profits of thoſe territories, the agreement was made with the publick, and the preambles of the ſeveral acts have uniformly ſo ſtated it. Theſe agreements were not made (even nominally) with his majeſty, but with parliament; and the bills making and eſtabliſhing ſuch agreements always originated in this houſe, which appropriated the money to await the diſpoſition of parliament, without the ceremony of previous conſent from the crown even ſo much as ſuggeſted by any of his miniſters; which previous conſent is an obſervance of decorum, not indeed of ſtrict right, but generally paid when a new appropriation takes place in any part of his majeſty's prerogative revenues.

In purſuance of a right thus uniformly recogniſed, and uniformly acted on, when parliament undertook the reformation of the Eaſt India company in 1773, a commiſſion was appointed as the commiſſion in the late bill was appointed; and it was made to continue for a term of years, as the commiſſion in the late bill was to continue; all the commiſſioners were named in parliament, as in the late bill they were named. As they received, ſo they held their offices, wholly indepen-

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dent of the crown; they held them for a fixed term; they were not removeable by an addreſs of either houſe, or even of both houſes of parliament, a precaution obſerved in the late bill, relative to the commiſſioners propoſed therein; nor were they bound by the ſtrict rules of proceeding which regulated and reſtrained the late commiſſioners againſt all poſſible abuſe of a power which could not fail of being diligently and zealouſly watched by the miniſters of the crown, and the proprietors of the ſtock, as well as by parliament. Their proceedings were, in that bill, directed to be of ſuch a nature as eaſily to ſubject them to the ſtricteſt reviſion of both, in caſe of any malverſation.

In the year 1780, an act of parliament again made proviſion for the government of thoſe territories for another four years, without any ſort of reference to prerogative; nor was the leaſt objection taken at the ſecond, more than at the firſt of thoſe periods, as if an infringement had been made upon the rights of the crown; yet his majeſty's miniſters have thought fit to repreſent the late commiſſion as an entire innovation on the conſtitution, and the ſetting up a new order and eſtate in the nation, tending to the ſubverſion of the monarchy itſelf.

If the government of the Eaſt Indies, other than by his majeſty's prerogative, be, in effect, a fourth

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fourth order in the common-wealth, this order has long exiſted; becauſe the Eaſt India company has for many years enjoyed it in the fulleſt extent, and does at this day enjoy the whole adminiſtration of thoſe provinces, and the patronage to offices throughout that great empire, except as it is controled by act of parliament.

It was the ill-condition, and ill-adminiſtration of the company's affairs, which induced this houſe (merely as a temporary eſtabliſhment) to veſt the ſame powers which the company did before poſſeſs, (and no other) for a limited time, and under very ſtrict directions, in proper hands, until they could be reſtored, or further proviſion made concerning them. It was therefore no creation whatever of a new power, but the removal of an old power, long ſince created, and then exiſting, from the management of thoſe perſons who had manifeſtly and dangerouſly abuſed their truſt. This houſe, which well knows the parliamentary origin of all the company's powers and privileges, and is not ignorant or negligent of the authority which may veſt thoſe powers and privileges in others, if juſtice and the publick ſafety ſo require, is conſcious to itſelf, that it no more creates a new order in the ſtate, by making occaſional truſtees for the direction of the company, than it originally did in giving a much more permanent truſt to the directors, or to the general court of that body. The mo-

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nopoly of the Eaſt India company was a derogation from the general freedom of trade belonging to his majeſty's people. The powers of government, and of peace and war, are parts of prerogative of the higheſt order. Of our competence to reſtrain the rights of all his ſubjects by act of parliament, and to veſt thoſe high and eminent prerogatives even in a particular company of merchants, there has been no queſtion. We beg leave moſt humbly to claim as our right, and as a right which this houſe has always uſed, to frame ſuch bills, for the regulation of that commerce, and of the territories held by the Eaſt India company, and every thing relating to them, as to our diſcretion ſhall ſeem fit: and we aſſert and maintain, that therein we follow, and do not innovate on the conſtitution.

That his majeſty's miniſters, miſled by their ambition, have endeavoured, if poſſible, to form a faction in the country againſt the popular part of the conſtitution; and have therefore thought proper to add to their ſlanderous accuſation againſt a houſe of parliament, relative to his majeſty's prerogative, another of a different nature, calculated for the purpoſe of raiſing fears and jealouſies among the corporate bodies of the kingdom, and of perſuading uninformed perſons belonging to thoſe corporations to look to, and to make addreſſes to them as protectors of their rights,

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rights, under their ſeveral charters, from the deſigns which they, without any ground, charged the then houſe of commons to have formed againſt *charters in general.* For this purpoſe they have not ſcrupled to aſſert, that the exertion of his majeſty's prerogative in the late precipitate change in his adminiſtration, and the diſſolution of the late parliament, were meaſures adopted in order to reſcue the people and their rights out of the hands of the houſe of commons, their repreſentatives.

We truſt that his majeſty's ſubjects are not yet ſo far deluded as to believe that the charters, or that any other of their local or general privileges can have a ſolid ſecurity in any place but where that ſecurity has always been looked for, and always found, in the houſe of commons. Miſerable and precarious indeed would be the ſtate of their franchiſes, if they were to find no defence but from that quarter from whence they have always been attacked.* But the late houſe of commons in

* The attempt upon charters and the privileges of the corporate bodies of the kingdom in the reigns of Charles the Second, and James the Second, was made by the *crown.* It was carried on by the ordinary courſe of law, in courts inſtituted for the ſecurity of the property and franchiſes of the people. This attempt made by the *crown,* was attended with complete ſucceſs. The corporate rights of the city of London, and of all the

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in paſſing that bill, made no attack upon any powers or privileges, except ſuch as a houſe of commons

companies it contains, were by ſolemn judgment of law declared forfeited, and all their franchiſes, privileges, properties and eſtates, were of courſe ſeized into the hands of the *crown*. The injury was from the crown; the redreſs was by parliament. A bill was brought into the *houſe of commons*, by which the judgment againſt the city of London, and againſt the companies, was reverſed; and this bill paſſed the houſe of lords without any complaint of treſpaſs on their juriſdiction, although the bill was for a reverſal of a judgment in law. By this act, which is in the ſecond of William and Mary, chap. 8, the queſtion of forfeiture of that charter is for ever taken out of the power of any court of law. No cogniſance can be taken of it except in parliament.

Although the act above-mentioned has declared the judgment againſt the corporation of London to be *illegal*; yet Blackſtone makes no ſcruple of aſſerting, that "perhaps in ſtrictneſs of "law, the proceedings in moſt of them [the Quo Warranto "cauſes] were ſufficiently regular," leaving it in doubt, whether this regularity did not apply to the corporation of London, as well as to any of the reſt; and he ſeems to blame the proceeding (as moſt blamable it was) not ſo much on account of illegality, as for the crown's having employed a legal proceeding for political purpoſes. He calls it "an exertion of *an act of law* for the purpoſes of the ſtate."

The ſame ſecurity which was given to the city of London, would have been extended to all the corporations, if the houſe of commons could have prevailed. But the bill for that purpoſe paſſed but by a majority of one in the lords; and it was entirely loſt by a prorogation, which is the act of the crown. Small, indeed, was the ſecurity which the corporation of London

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commons has frequently attacked, and will attack (and they truſt, in the end, with their wonted ſucceſs)

don enjoyed, before the act of William and Mary, and which all the other corporations ſecured by no ſtatute, enjoy at this hour, if ſtrict law was employed againſt them. The uſe of ſtrict law has always been rendered very delicate by the ſame means, by which the almoſt unmeaſured legal powers reſiding (and in many inſtances dangerouſly reſiding) in the crown, are kept within due bounds; I mean, that ſtrong ſuperintending power in the houſe of commons, which inconſiderate people have been prevailed on to condemn as trenching on prerogative. Strict law is by no means ſuch a friend to the rights of the ſubject, as they have been taught to believe. They who have been moſt converſant in this kind of learning, will be moſt ſenſible of the danger of ſubmitting corporate rights of high political importance to theſe ſubordinate tribunals. The general heads of law on that ſubject are vulgar and trivial. On them there is not much queſtion. But it is far from eaſy to determine what ſpecial acts, or what ſpecial neglect of action, ſhall ſubject corporations to a forfeiture. There is ſo much laxity in this doctrine, that great room is left for favour or prejudice, which might give to the crown an entire dominion over thoſe corporations. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly true, that every ſubordinate corporate right ought to be ſubject to control; to ſuperiour direction; and even to forfeiture upon juſt cauſe. In this reaſon and law agree. In every judgment given on a corporate right of great political importance, the policy and prudence make no ſmall part of the queſtion. To theſe conſiderations a court of law is not competent; and indeed an attempt at the leaſt intermixture of ſuch ideas with the matter of law, could have no other effect, than wholly to corrupt the judicial character of the court, in which ſuch a cauſe ſhould come to be tried. It is beſides

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ceſs) that is, upon thoſe which are corruptly and oppreſſively adminiſtered; and this houſe do faithfully

ſides to be remarked, that if in virtue of a legal proceſs a forfeiture ſhould be adjudged, the court of law has no power to modify or mitigate. The whole franchiſe is annihilated, and the corporate property goes into the hands of the crown. They who hold the new doctrines concerning the power of the houſe of commons, ought well to conſider in ſuch a caſe by what means the corporate rights could be revived, or the property could be recovered out of the hands of the crown. But parliament can do, what the courts neither can do nor ought to attempt. Parliament is competent to give due weight to all political conſiderations. It may modify; it may mitigate; and it may render perfectly ſecure, all that it does not think fit to take away. It is not likely that parliament will ever draw to itſelf the cogniſance of queſtions concerning ordinary corporations, farther than to protect them in caſe attempts are made to induce a forfeiture of their franchiſes.

The caſe of the Eaſt India company is different even from that of the greateſt of theſe corporations. No monopoly of trade, beyond their own limits, is veſted in the corporate body of any town or city in the kingdom. Even within theſe limits the monopoly is not general. The company has the monopoly of the trade of half the world. The firſt corporation of the kingdom, has for the object of its juriſdiction only a few matters of ſubordinate police. The Eaſt India company governs an empire through all its concerns, and all its departments, from the loweſt office of œconomy to the higheſt councils of ſtate,—an empire to which Great Britain is in compariſon but a reſpectable province. To leave theſe concerns without ſuperiour cogniſance would be madneſs; to leave them to be judged in the courts below on the principles of a confined juriſprudence, would be folly. It is well

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fully aſſure his majeſty, that we will correct, and, if neceſſary for the purpoſe, as far as in us lies, will wholly deſtroy every ſpecies of power and authority exerciſed by Britiſh ſubjects to the oppreſſion, wrong, and detriment of the people, and to the impoveriſhment and deſolation of the countries ſubject to it.

The propagators of the calumnies againſt that houſe of parliament have been indefatigable in exaggerating the ſuppoſed injury done to the Eaſt India company by the ſuſpenſion of the authorities which they have, in every inſtance, abuſed;

if the whole legiſlative power is competent to the correction of abuſes, which are commenſurate to the immenſity of the object they affect. The idea of an abſolute power has indeed its terrours; but that objection lies to every parliamentary proceeding; and as no other can regulate the abuſes of ſuch a charter, it is fitteſt that ſovereign authority ſhould be exerciſed, where it is moſt likely to be attended with the moſt effectual correctives. Theſe correctives are furniſhed by the nature and courſe of parliamentary proceedings, and by the infinitely diverſified characters who compoſe the two houſes. In effect and virtually they form a vaſt number, variety, and ſucceſſion of judges and jurors. The fulneſs, the freedom, and publicity of diſcuſſion, leaves it eaſy to diſtinguiſh what are acts of power, and what the determinations of equity and reaſon. There prejudice corrects prejudice, and the different aſperities of party zeal mitigate and neutraliſe each other. So far from violence being the general characteriſtick of the proceedings of parliament, whatever the beginnings of any parliamentary proceſs may be, its general fault in the end is, that it is found incomplete and ineffectual.

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as if power had been wreſted, by wrong and violence, from juſt and prudent hands; but they have, with equal care, concealed the weighty grounds and reaſons on which that houſe had adopted the moſt moderate of all poſſible expedients for reſcuing the natives of India from oppreſſion, and for ſaving the intereſt of the real and honeſt proprietors of their ſtock, as well as that great national, commercial concern, from imminent ruin.

The miniſters aforeſaid have alſo cauſed it to be reported, that the houſe of commons have confiſcated the property of the Eaſt India company. It is the reverſe of truth. The whole management was a truſt for the proprietors, under their own inſpection (and it was ſo provided for in the bill) and under the inſpection of parliament. That bill, ſo far from confiſcating the company's property, was the only one which, for ſeveral years paſt, did not, in ſome ſhape or other, affect their property, or reſtrain them in the diſpoſition of it.

It is proper that his majeſty and all his people ſhould be informed, that the houſe of commons have proceeded, with regard to the Eaſt India company, with a degree of care, circumſpection, and deliberation, which has not been equalled in the hiſtory of parliamentary proceedings. For ſixteen years the ſtate and condition of that body has never been wholly out of their view: in the year

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year 1767 the houſe took thoſe objects into conſideration, in a committee of the whole houſe: the buſineſs was purſued in the following year: in the year 1772, two committees were appointed for the ſame purpoſe, which examined into their affairs with much diligence, and made very ample reports: in the year 1773, the proceedings were carried to an act of parliament, which proved ineffectual to its purpoſe; the oppreſſions and abuſes in India have ſince rather increaſed than diminiſhed, on account of the greatneſs of the temptations and convenience of the opportunities, which got the better of the legiſlative proviſions calculated againſt ill practices, then in their beginnings: inſomuch that, in 1781, two committees were again inſtituted, who have made ſeventeen reports. It was upon the moſt minute, exact, and laborious collection and diſcuſſion of facts, that the late houſe of commons proceeded in the reform which they attempted in the adminiſtration of India, but which has been fruſtrated by ways and means the moſt diſhonourable to his majeſty's government, and the moſt pernicious to the conſtitution of this kingdom. His majeſty was ſo ſenſible of the diſorders in the company's adminiſtration, that the conſideration of that ſubject was no leſs than ſix times recommended to this houſe in ſpeeches from the throne.

The reſult of the parliamentary inquiries has been,

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been, that the East India company was found totally corrupted, and totally perverted from the purposes of its institution, whether political or commercial; that the powers of war and peace given by the charter had been abused, by kindling hostilities in every quarter for the purposes of rapine; that almost all the treaties of peace they have made, have only given cause to so many breaches of publick faith; that countries once the most flourishing are reduced to a state of indigence, decay, and depopulation, to the diminution of our strength, and to the infinite dishonour of our national character; that the laws of this kingdom are notoriously, and almost in every instance, despised; that the servants of the company, by the purchase of qualifications to vote in the general court, and, at length, by getting the company itself deeply in their debt, have obtained the entire and absolute mastery in the body, by which they ought to have been ruled and coerced. Thus their malversations in office are supported instead of being checked by the company. The whole of the affairs of that body are reduced to a most perilous situation; and many millions of innocent and deserving men, who are under the protection of this nation, and who ought to be protected by it, are oppressed by a most despotick and rapacious tyranny. The company and their servants have strengthened themselves by this confederacy, have

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ſet at defiance the authority and admonitions of this houſe employed to reform them; and when this houſe had ſelected certain principal delinquents, whom they declared it the duty of the company to recall, the company held out its legal privileges againſt all reformation; poſitively refuſed to recall them; and ſupported thoſe who had fallen under the juſt cenſure of this houſe, with new and ſtronger marks of countenance and approbation.

The late houſe diſcovering the reverſed ſituation of the company, by which the nominal ſervants are really the maſters, and the offenders are become their own judges, thought fit to examine into the ſtate of their commerce; and they have alſo diſcovered that their commercial affairs are in the greateſt diſorder, that their debts have accumulated beyond any preſent or obvious future means of payment, at leaſt under the actual adminiſtration of their affairs; that this condition of the Eaſt India company has begun to affect the ſinking fund itſelf, on which the publick credit of the kingdom reſts, a million and upwards being due to the cuſtoms, which that houſe of commons, whoſe intentions towards the company have been ſo groſsly miſrepreſented, were indulgent enough to reſpite. And thus, inſtead of confiſcating their property, the company received without intereſt (which in ſuch a caſe had been before charged) the

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the uſe of a very large ſum of the publick money. The revenues are under the peculiar care of this houſe, not only as the revenues originate from us, but as, on every failure of the funds ſet apart for ſupport of the national credit, or to provide for the national ſtrength and ſafety, the taſk of ſupplying every deficiency falls upon his majeſty's faithful commons, this houſe muſt, in effect, tax the people. The houſe therefore, at every moment, incurs the hazard of becoming obnoxious to its conſtituents.

The enemies of the late houſe of commons reſolved, if poſſible, to bring on that event. They therefore endeavoured to miſrepreſent the provident means adopted by the houſe of commons for keeping off this invidious neceſſity, as an attack on the rights of the Eaſt India company; for they well knew that on the one hand if, for want of proper regulation and relief, the company ſhould become inſolvent, or even ſtop payment, the national credit and commerce would ſuſtain an heavy blow; and that calamity would be juſtly imputed to parliament, which after ſuch long inquiries, and ſuch frequent admonitions from his majeſty, had neglected ſo eſſential and ſo urgent an article of their duty: on the other hand they knew, that, wholly corrupted as the company is, nothing effectual could be done to preſerve that intereſt from ruin, without taking for a time the national objects

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jects of their truſts out of their hands; and then a cry would be induſtriouſly raiſed againſt the houſe of commons, as depriving Britiſh ſubjects of their legal privileges. The reſtraint, being plain and ſimple, muſt be eaſily underſtood by thoſe who would be brought with great difficulty, to comprehend the intricate detail of matters of fact, which render this ſuſpenſion of the adminiſtration of India abſolutely neceſſary on motives of juſtice, of policy, of publick honour, and publick ſafety.

The houſe of commons had not been able to deviſe a method, by which the redreſs of grievances could be effected through the authors of thoſe grievances; nor could they imagine how corruptions could be purified by the corrupters and the corrupted; nor do we conceive, how any reformation can proceed from the known abettors and ſupporters of the perſons who have been guilty of the miſdemeanors which parliament has reprobated, and who for their own ill purpoſes have given countenance to a falſe and deluſive ſtate of the company's affairs, fabricated to miſlead parliament, and to impoſe upon the nation.*

Your

* The purpoſe of the miſrepreſentation being now completely anſwered, there is no doubt but the committee in this parliament, appointed by the miniſters themſelves, will juſtify the grounds upon which the laſt parliament proceeded; and will lay open to the world, the dreadful ſtate of the company's affairs,

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Your commons feel, with a juſt reſentment, the inadequate eſtimate which your miniſters have formed of the importance of this great concern. They call on us to act upon the principles of thoſe who have not inquired into the ſubject; and to condemn thoſe who, with the moſt laudable diligence, have examined and ſcrutinized every part of it. The deliberations of parliament have been broken; the ſeaſon of the year is unfavourable; many of us are new members, who muſt be wholly unacquainted with the ſubject, which lies remote from the ordinary courſe of general information.

We are cautioned againſt an infringement of the conſtitution; and it is impoſſible to know, what the ſecret adviſers of the crown, who have driven out the late miniſters for their conduct in parliament, and have diſſolved the late parliament for a pretended attack upon prerogative, will conſider as ſuch an infringement. We are not furniſhed with a rule, the obſervance of which can make us ſafe from the reſentment of the crown, even by an implicit obedience to the dictates of the miniſters who have adviſed that ſpeech: we

and the groſſneſs of their own calumnies upon this head. By delay the new aſſembly is come into the diſgraceful ſituation of allowing a dividend of eight per cent. by act of parliament, without the leaſt matter before them to juſtify the granting of any dividend at all.

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know not how ſoon thoſe miniſters may be diſavowed; and how ſoon the members of this houſe, for our very agreement with them, may be conſidered as objects of his majeſty's diſpleaſure. Until by his majeſty's goodneſs and wiſdom the late example is completely done away, we are not free.

We are well aware, in providing for the affairs of the eaſt, with what an adult ſtrength of abuſe, and of wealth and influence growing out of that abuſe, his majeſty's commons had, in the laſt parliament, and we ſtill have, to ſtruggle. We are ſenſible that the influence of that wealth, in a much larger degree and meaſure than at any former period, may have penetrated into the very quarter from whence alone any real reformation can be expected.*

If,

* This will be evident to thoſe who conſider the number and deſcription of directors and ſervants of the Eaſt India company, choſen into the preſent parliament. The light in which the preſent miniſters hold the labours of the houſe of commons, in ſearching into the diſorders in the Indian adminiſtration, and all its endeavours for the reformation of the government there, without any diſtinction of times, or of the perſons concerned, will appear from the following extract from a ſpeech of the preſent lord chancellor. After making a high-flown panegyrick on thoſe whom the houſe of commons had condemned by their reſolutions, he ſaid—"Let us not be miſled by reports from committees of *another* houſe, to which, I again repeat, *I pay as much attention, as I would do to the hiſtory of Robinſon Cruſoe.* Let the

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If, therefore, in the arduous affairs recommended to us, our proceedings ſhould be ill adapted, feeble and ineffectual; if no delinquency ſhould be prevented, and no delinquent ſhould be called to account; if every perſon ſhould be careſſed, promoted, and raiſed in power, in proportion to the enormity of his offences; if no relief ſhould be given to any of the natives unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed of their rights, juriſdictions, and properties; if no cruel and unjuſt exactions ſhall be forborne: if the ſource of no peculation, or oppreſſive gain ſhould be cut off; if, by the omiſſion of the opportunities that were in our hands, our Indian empire ſhould fall into ruin irretrievable, and in its fall cruſh the credit, and overwhelm the revenues of this country, we ſtand acquitted to our honour, and to our conſcience, who have reluctantly ſeen the weightieſt intereſts of our country, at times the moſt critical to its dignity and ſafety, rendered the ſport of the inconſiderate and unmeaſured am-

conduct of the Eaſt India company be fairly and fully inquired into; let it be acquitted or condemned by evidence brought to the bar of the houſe. Without entering very deep into the ſubject, let me reply in a few words to an obſervation which fell from a noble and learned lord, that the company's finances are diſtreſſed, and that they owe at this moment, a million ſterling, to the nation. When ſuch a charge is brought, will parliament in its juſtice forget, that the company is reſtricted from employing *that credit, which its great and flouriſhing ſituation* gives to it?"

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bition of individuals, and by that means the wisdom of his majesty's government degraded in the publick estimation, and the policy and character of this renowned nation rendered contemptible in the eyes of all Europe.

It passed in the negative.

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MR. BURKE's SPEECH

ON THE

MOTION MADE FOR PAPERS

Relative to the Directions for charging

THE NABOB OF ARCOT's PRIVATE DEBTS TO EUROPEANS, ON THE REVENUES OF THE CARNATICK.

February 28th, 1785.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING SEVERAL DOCUMENTS.

Ἐνταῦθα τί πράττειν ἐχρῆν ἄνδρα τῶν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους ζηλωτὴν δογμάτων; ἆρα περιορᾶν ἀνθρώπους ἀθλίους τοῖς κλέπταις ἐκδιδομένους, ἢ καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν, ὅτι μάλιστα, ὡς ἥδη τὸ κύκλειον ἐξάδουσι διὰ τὸ θεμιστὲς ἐργαστήριον τῶν τοιούτων; Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸν μὲν χιλιάρχους, ὅταν λείπωσι τὴν τάξιν, καταδικάζειν· τὴν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπειν τάξιν, ὅταν δέῃ πρὸς κλέπτας ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοιούτους· καὶ ταῦτά τῷ Θεῷ συμμαχοῦντος ἡμῖν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔταξεν.

JULIANI Epist. 17.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THAT the leaſt informed reader of this ſpeech may be enabled to enter fully into the ſpirit of the tranſaction on occaſion of which it was delivered, it may be proper to acquaint him, that among the princes dependent on this nation in the ſouthern part of India, the moſt conſiderable at preſent is commonly known by the title of the Nabob of Arcot.

This prince owed the eſtabliſhment of his government, againſt the claims of his elder brother, as well as thoſe of other competitors, to the arms and influence of the Britiſh Eaſt India company. Being thus eſtabliſhed in a conſiderable part of the dominions he now poſſeſſes, he began, about the year 1765, to form, at the inſtigation (as he aſſerts) of the ſervants of the Eaſt India company, a variety of deſigns for the further extenſion of his territories. Some years after, he carried his views to certain objects of interiour arrangement, of a very pernicious nature. None of theſe deſigns could be compaſſed without the aid of the company's arms; nor could thoſe arms be employed conſiſtently with an obedience to the company's orders. He was therefore adviſed to form a more ſecret,

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ſecret, but an equally powerful intereſt among the ſervants of that company, and among others both at home and abroad. By engaging them in his intereſts, the uſe of the company's power might be obtained without their oſtenſible authority; the power might even be employed in defiance of the authority; if the caſe ſhould require, as in truth it often did require, a proceeding of that degree of boldneſs.

The company had put him into poſſeſſion of ſeveral great cities and magnificent caſtles. The good order of his affairs, his ſenſe of perſonal dignity, his ideas of oriental ſplendour, and the habits of an Aſiatick life (to which, being a native of India, and a Mahometan, he had from his infancy been inured) would naturally have led him to fix the ſeat of his government within his own dominions. Inſtead of this, he totally ſequeſtered himſelf from his country; and, abandoning all appearance of ſtate, he took up his reſidence in an ordinary houſe, which he purchaſed in the ſuburbs of the company's factory at Madras. In that place he has lived, without removing one day from thence, for ſeveral years paſt. He has there continued a conſtant cabal with the company's ſervants, from the higheſt to the loweſt; creating, out of the ruins of the country, brilliant fortunes for thoſe who will, and entirely deſtroying thoſe who will not, be ſubſervient to his purpoſes.

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An opinion prevailed, ſtrongly confirmed by ſeveral paſſages in his own letters, as well as by a combination of circumſtances forming a body of evidence which cannot be reſiſted, that very great ſums have been by him diſtributed, through a long courſe of years, to ſome of the company's ſervants. Beſides theſe preſumed payments in ready money (of which, from the nature of the thing, the direct proof is very difficult) debts have at ſeveral periods been acknowledged to thoſe gentlemen, to an immenſe amount; that is, to ſome millions of ſterling money. There is ſtrong reaſon to ſuſpect, that the body of theſe debts is wholly fictitious, and was never created by money *bonâ fide* lent. But even on a ſuppoſition that this vaſt ſum was really advanced, it was impoſſible that the very reality of ſuch an aſtoniſhing tranſaction ſhould not cauſe ſome degree of alarm, and incite to ſome ſort of inquiry.

It was not at all ſeemly, at a moment when the company itſelf was ſo diſtreſſed, as to require a ſuſpenſion, by act of parliament, of the payment of bills drawn on them from India—and alſo a direct tax upon every houſe in England, in order to facilitate the vent of their goods, and to avoid inſtant inſolvency—at that very moment that their ſervants ſhould appear in ſo flouriſhing a condition, as, beſides ten millions of other demands on their maſters, to be entitled to claim a debt of three

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or four millions more from the territorial revenue of one of their dependent princes.

The oſtenſible pecuniary tranſactions of the nabob of Arcot, with very private perſons, are ſo enormous, that they evidently ſet aſide every pretence of policy, which might induce a prudent government in ſome inſtances to wink at ordinary looſe practice in ill-managed departments. No caution could be too great in handling this matter; no ſcrutiny too exact. It was evidently the intereſt, and as evidently at leaſt in the power, of the creditors, by admitting ſecret participation in this dark and undefined concern, to ſpread corruption to the greateſt and the moſt alarming extent.

Theſe facts relative to the debts were ſo notorious, the opinion of their being a principal ſource of the diſorders of the Britiſh government in India was ſo undiſputed and univerſal, that there was no party, no deſcription of men in parliament, who did not think themſelves bound, if not in honour and conſcience, at leaſt in common decency, to inſtitute a vigorous inquiry into the very bottom of the buſineſs, before they admitted any part of that vaſt and ſuſpicious charge to be laid upon an exhauſted country. Every plan concurred in directing ſuch an inquiry; in order that whatever was diſcovered to be corrupt, fraudulent, or oppreſſive, ſhould lead to a due animadverſion

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verſion on the offenders; and if any thing fair and equitable in its origin ſhould be found (nobody ſuſpected that much, comparatively ſpeaking, would be ſo found) it might be provided for; in due ſubordination, however, to the eaſe of the ſubject, and the ſervice of the ſtate.

Theſe were the alleged grounds for an inquiry, ſettled in all the bills brought into parliament relative to India, and there were I think no leſs than four of them. By the bill, commonly called Mr. Pitt's bill, the inquiry was ſpecially, and by expreſs words, committed to the court of directors, without any reſerve for the interference of any other perſon or perſons whatſoever. It was ordered that *they* ſhould make the inquiry into the origin and juſtice of theſe debts, as far as the materials in *their* poſſeſſion enabled them to proceed; and where *they* found thoſe materials deficient, *they* ſhould order the preſidency of Fort St. George [Madras] to complete the inquiry.

The court of directors applied themſelves to the execution of the truſt repoſed in them. They firſt examined into the amount of the debt, which they computed, at compound intereſt, to be 2,945,600*l.* ſterling. Whether their mode of computation, either of the original ſums, or the amount on compound intereſt, was exact; that is, whether they took the intereſt too high, or the ſeveral capitals too low, is not material. On whatever principle

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principle any of the calculations were made up, none of them found the debt to differ from the recital of the act, which aſſerted, that the ſums claimed were "*very* large." The laſt head of theſe debts the directors compute at 2,465,680*l.* ſterling. Of the exiſtence of this debt the directors heard nothing until 1776, and they ſay, that, "although they had *repeatedly* written to the na-"bob of Arcot, and to their ſervants, reſpecting "the debt, yet they *had never been able to trace the* "*origin thereof, or to obtain any ſatisfactory informa-*"*tion on the ſubject.*"

The court of directors, after ſtating the circumſtances under which the debts appeared to them to have been contracted, add as follows: "For "theſe reaſons we ſhould have thought it our "duty to inquire *very minutely* into thoſe debts, "even if the act of parliament had been ſilent on "the ſubject, before we concurred in any meaſure "for their payment. But with the poſitive in-"junctions of the act before us, to examine into "their nature and origin, we are indiſpenſably "bound to direct ſuch an inquiry to be inſti-"tuted." They then order the preſident and council of Madras to enter into a full examination, &c. &c.

The directors having drawn up their order to the preſidency on theſe principles, communicated the draught of the general letter in which thoſe orders

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orders were contained, to the board of his majesty's ministers, and other servants lately constituted by Mr. Pitt's East India act. These ministers, who had just carried through parliament the bill ordering a specifick inquiry, immediately drew up another letter, on a principle directly opposite to that, which was prescribed by the act of parliament, and followed by the directors. In these second orders, all idea of an inquiry into the justice and origin of the pretended debts, particularly of the last, the greatest, and the most obnoxious to suspicion, is abandoned. They are all admitted and established without any investigation whatsoever; except some private conference with the agents of the claimants is to pass for an investigation; and a fund for their discharge is assigned and set apart out of the revenues of the Carnatick.—To this arrangement in favour of their servants, servants suspected of corruption, and convicted of disobedience, the directors of the East India company were ordered to set their hands, asserting it to arise from their own conviction and opinion, in flat contradiction to their recorded sentiments, their strong remonstrance, and their declared sense of their duty, as well under their general trust and their oath as directors, as under the express injunctions of an act of parliament.

The principles upon which this summary proceeding was adopted by the ministerial board, are stated

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ſtated by themſelves in a number in the appendix to this ſpeech.

By another ſection of the ſame act, the ſame court of directors were ordered to take into conſideration and to decide on the indeterminate rights of the rajah of Tanjore and the nabob of Arcot; and in this, as in the former caſe, no power of appeal, reviſion, or alteration was reſerved to any other. It was a juriſdiction, in a cauſe between party and party, given to the court of directors ſpecifically. It was known that the territories of the former of theſe princes had been twice invaded and pillaged, and the prince depoſed and impriſoned, by the company's ſervants, influenced by the intrigues of the latter, and for the purpoſe of paying his pretended debts. The company had, in the year 1775, ordered a reſtoration of the rajah to his government, under certain conditions. The rajah complained that his territories had not been completely reſtored to him; and that no part of his goods, money, revenues, or records, unjuſtly taken and withheld from him, were ever returned. The nabob, on the other hand, never ceaſed to claim the country itſelf, and carried on a continued train of negotiation, that it ſhould again be given up to him, in violation of the company's publick faith.

The directors, in obedience to this part of the act, ordered an inquiry, and came to a determi-

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nation to reſtore certain of his territories to the rajah. The miniſters proceeding as in the former caſe, without hearing any party, reſcinded the deciſion of the directors, refuſed the reſtitution of the territory, and without regard to the condition of the country of Tanjour, which had been within a few years four times plundered (twice by the nabob of Arcot, and twice by enemies brought upon it ſolely by the politicks of the ſame nabob, the declared enemy of that people) and without diſcounting a ſhilling for their ſufferings, they accumulate an arrear of about 400,000 pounds of pretended tribute to this enemy; and then they order the directors to put their hands to a new adjudication, directly contrary to a judgment in a judicial character and truſt, ſolemnly given by them, and entered on their records.

Theſe proceedings naturally called for ſome inquiry. On the 28th of February, 1785, Mr. Fox made the following motion in the houſe of commons, after moving that the clauſes of the act ſhould be read—"That the proper officer do lay "before this houſe copies and extracts of all let-"ters and orders of the court of directors of the "united Eaſt-India company, in purſuance of the "injunctions contained in the 37th and 38th "clauſes of the ſaid act;" and the queſtion being put, it paſſed in the negative by a very great majority.

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The laſt ſpeech in the debate was the following; which is given to the publick, not as being more worthy of its attention than others (ſome of which were of conſummate ability) but as entering more into the detail of the ſubject.

SPEECH

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SPEECH, &c.

THE times we live in, Mr. Speaker, have been diſtinguiſhed by extraordinary events. Habituated, however, as we are, to uncommon combinations of men and of affairs, I believe nobody recollects any thing more ſurpriſing than the ſpectacle of this day. The right honourable gentleman,* whoſe conduct is now in queſtion, formerly ſtood forth in this houſe, the proſecutor of the worthy baronet † who ſpoke after him. He charged him with ſeveral grievous acts of malverſation in office; with abuſes of a publick truſt of a great and heinous nature. In leſs than two years we ſee the ſituation of the parties reverſed; and a ſingular revolution puts the worthy baronet in a fair way of returning the proſecution in a recriminatory bill of pains and penalties, grounded on a breach of publick truſt, relative to the government of the very ſame part of India. If he ſhould undertake a bill of that kind, he will find no difficulty in conducting it with a degree of ſkill

* Right honourable Henry Dundas.

† Sir Thomas Rumbold, late governour of Madras.

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and vigour fully equal to all that have been exerted againſt him.

But the change of relation between theſe two gentlemen is not ſo ſtriking as the total difference of their deportment under the ſame unhappy circumſtances. Whatever the merits of the worthy baronet's defence might have been, he did not ſhrink from the charge. He met it with manlineſs of ſpirit, and decency of behaviour. What would have been thought of him, if he had held the preſent language of his old accuſer? When articles were exhibited againſt him by that right honourable gentleman, he did not think proper to tell the houſe that we ought to inſtitute no inquiry, to inſpect no paper, to examine no witneſs. He did not tell us (what at that time he might have told us with ſome ſhew of reaſon) that our concerns in India were matters of delicacy; that to divulge any thing relative to them would be miſchievous to the ſtate. He did not tell us, that thoſe who would inquire into his proceedings were diſpoſed to diſmember the empire. He had not the preſumption to ſay, that for his part, having obtained in his Indian preſidency, the ultimate object of his ambition, his honour was concerned in executing with integrity the truſt which had been legally committed to his charge: That others, not having been ſo fortunate, could not be ſo diſintereſted; and therefore their accuſations could

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ſpring from no other ſource than faction, and envy to his fortune.

Had he been frontleſs enough to hold ſuch vain, vapouring language in the face of a grave, a detailed, a ſpecified matter of accuſation, whilſt he violently reſiſted every thing which could bring the merits of his cauſe to the teſt; had he been wild enough to anticipate the abſurdities of this day; that is, had he inferred, as his late accuſer has thought proper to do, that he could not have been guilty of malverſation in office, for this ſole and curious reaſon, that he had been in office; had he argued the impoſſibility of his abuſing his power on this ſole principle, that he had power to abuſe, he would have left but one impreſſion on the mind of every man who heard him, and who believed him in his ſenſes—that in the utmoſt extent he was guilty of the charge.

But, Sir, leaving theſe two gentlemen to alternate, as criminal and accuſer, upon what principles they think expedient; it is for us to conſider, whether the chancellor of the exchequer, and the treaſurer of the navy, acting as a board of control, are juſtified by law or policy, in ſuſpending the legal arrangements made by the court of directors in order to transfer the publick revenues to the private emolument of certain ſervants of the Eaſt-India company, without the inquiry into the origin and juſtice of their claims, preſcribed by an act of parliament?

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It is not contended, that the act of parliament did not expreſsly ordain an inquiry. It is not aſſerted that this inquiry was not, with equal preciſion of terms, ſpecially committed under particular regulations to the court of directors. I conceive, therefore, the board of control had no right whatſoever to intermeddle in that buſineſs. There is nothing certain in the principles of juriſprudence, if this be not undeniably true, that when a ſpecial authority is given to any perſons by name, to do ſome particular act, that no others, by virtue of general powers, can obtain a legal title to intrude themſelves into that truſt, and to exerciſe thoſe ſpecial functions in their place. I therefore conſider the intermeddling of miniſters in this affair as a downright uſurpation. But if the ſtrained conſtruction, by which they have forced themſelves into a ſuſpicious office (which every man, delicate with regard to character, would rather have ſought conſtructions to avoid) were perfectly ſound and perfectly legal, of this I am certain, that they cannot be juſtified in declining the inquiry which had been preſcribed to the court of directors. If the board of control did lawfully poſſeſs the right of executing the ſpecial truſt given to that court, they muſt take it as they found it, ſubject to the very ſame regulations which bound the court of directors. It will be allowed that the court of directors had no authority to diſpenſe with either the ſubſtance or the mode

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mode of inquiry prescribed by the act of parliament. If they had not, where, in the act, did the board of control acquire that capacity? Indeed, it was impossible they should acquire it.—What must we think of the fabrick and texture of an act of parliament which should find it necessary to prescribe a strict inquisition; that should descend into minute regulations for the conduct of that inquisition; that should commit this trust to a particular description of men, and in the very same breath should enable another body, at their own pleasure, to supersede all the provisions the legislature had made, and to defeat the whole purpose, end, and object of the law? This cannot be supposed even of an act of parliament conceived by the ministers themselves, and brought forth during the delirium of the last session.

My honourable friend has told you in the speech which introduced his motion, that fortunately this question is not a great deal involved in the labyrinths of Indian detail. Certainly not. But if it were, I beg leave to assure you, that there is nothing in the Indian detail which is more difficult than in the detail of any other business. I admit, because I have some experience of the fact, that for the interiour regulation of India, a minute knowledge of India is requisite. But on any specifick matter of delinquency in its government, you are as capable of judging, as if the same thing were

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done at your door. Fraud, injuſtice, oppreſſion, peculation, engendered in India, are crimes of the ſame blood, family, and caſt, with thoſe that are born and bred in England. To go no farther than the caſe before us: you are juſt as competent to judge whether the ſum of four millions ſterling ought, or ought not, to be paſſed from the publick treaſury into a private pocket, without any title except the claim of the parties, when the iſſue of fact is laid in Madras, as when it is laid in Weſtminſter. Terms of art, indeed, are different in different places; but they are generally underſtood in none. The technical ſtyle of an Indian treaſury is not one jot more remote than the jargon of our own exchequer, from the train of our ordinary ideas, or the idiom of our common language. The difference therefore in the two caſes is not in the comparative difficulty or facility of the two ſubjects, but in our attention to the one, and our total neglect of the other. Had this attention and neglect been regulated by the value of the ſeveral objects, there would be nothing to complain of. But the reverſe of that ſuppoſition is true. The ſcene of the Indian abuſe is diſtant indeed; but we muſt not infer, that the value of our intereſt in it is decreaſed in proportion as it recedes from our view. In our politicks, as in our common conduct, we ſhall be worſe than infants, if we do not put our ſenſes under the tuition of our judgment,

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ment, and effectually cure ourſelves of that optical illuſion which makes a briar at our noſe of greater magnitude, than an oak at five hundred yards diſtance.

I think I can trace all the calamities of this country to the ſingle ſource of our not having had ſteadily before our eyes a general, comprehenſive, well-connected, and well-proportioned view of the whole of our dominions, and a juſt ſenſe of their true bearings and relations. After all its reductions, the Britiſh empire is ſtill vaſt and various. After all the reductions of the houſe of commons, (ſtripped as we are of our brighteſt ornaments, and of our moſt important privileges) enough are yet left to furniſh us, if we pleaſe, with means of ſhewing to the world, that we deſerve the ſuperintendance of as large an empire as this kingdom ever held, and the continuance of as ample privileges as the houſe of commons, in the plenitude of its power, had been habituated to aſſert. But if we make ourſelves too little for the ſphere of our duty; if, on the contrary, we do not ſtretch and expand our minds to the compaſs of their object, be well aſſured, that every thing about us will dwindle by degrees, until at length our concerns are ſhrunk to the dimenſions of our minds. It is not a predilection to mean, ſordid, home-bred cares, that will avert the conſequences of a falſe eſtimation of our intereſt, or prevent the ſhameful dilapidation

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dilapidation into which a great empire muſt fall, by mean reparations upon mighty ruins.

I confeſs I feel a degree of diſguſt, almoſt leading to deſpair, at the manner in which we are acting in the great exigencies of our country. There is now a bill in this houſe, appointing a rigid inquiſition into the minuteſt detail of our offices at home. The collection of ſixteen millions annually; a collection on which the publick greatneſs, ſafety, and credit have their reliance; the whole order of criminal juriſprudence, which holds together ſociety itſelf, have at no time obliged us to call forth ſuch powers; no, nor any thing like them. There is not a principle of the law and conſtitution of this country that is not ſubverted to favour the execution of that project.* And for what is all this apparatus of buſtle and terrour? Is it becauſe any thing ſubſtantial is expected from it? No. The ſtir and buſtle itſelf is the end propoſed. The eye-ſervants of a ſhort-ſighted maſter will employ themſelves, not on what is moſt eſſential to his affairs, but on what is neareſt to his ken. Great difficulties have given a juſt value to œconomy; and our miniſter of the day muſt be an œconomiſt, whatever it may coſt us. But where is he to exert his talents? At home to be ſure; for where elſe can he obtain a profitable credit for their exertion? It is nothing

* Appendix, No. 1.

to

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to him, whether the object on which he works under our eye be promiſing or not. If he does not obtain any publick benefit, he may make regulations without end. Thoſe are ſure to pay in preſent expectation, whilſt the effect is at a diſtance, and may be the concern of other times, and other men. On theſe principles he chooſes to ſuppoſe (for he does not pretend more than to ſuppoſe) a naked poſſibility, that he ſhall draw ſome reſource out of crumbs dropped from the trenchers of penury; that ſomething ſhall be laid in ſtore from the ſhort allowance of revenue officers, overloaded with duty, and famiſhed for want of bread; by a reduction from officers who are at this very hour ready to batter the treaſury with what breaks through ſtone walls, for an *increaſe* of their appointments. From the marrowleſs bones of theſe ſkeleton eſtabliſhments, by the uſe of every ſort of cutting, and of every ſort of fretting tool, he flatters himſelf that he may chip and raſp an empirical alimentary powder, to diet into ſome ſimilitude of health and ſubſtance the languiſhing chimeras of fraudulent reformation.

Whilſt he is thus employed according to his policy and to his taſte, he has not leiſure to inquire into thoſe abuſes in India that are drawing off money by millions from the treaſures of this country, which are exhauſting the vital juices from members of the ſtate, where the publick inanition is far more

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more ſorely felt than in the local exchequer of England. Not content with winking at theſe abuſes, whilſt he attempts to ſqueeze the laborious ill-paid drudges of Engliſh revenue, he laviſhes in one act of corrupt prodigality, upon thoſe who never ſerved the publick in any honeſt occupation at all, an annual income equal to two thirds of the whole collection of the revenues of this kingdom.

Actuated by the ſame principle of choice, he has now on the anvil another ſcheme, full of difficulty and deſperate hazard, which totally alters the commercial relation of two kingdoms; and what end ſoever it ſhall have, may bequeath a legacy of heart-burning and diſcontent to one of the countries, perhaps to both, to be perpetuated to the lateſt poſterity. This project is alſo undertaken on the hope of profit. It is provided, that out of ſome (I know not what) remains of the Iriſh hereditary revenue, a fund at ſome time, and of ſome ſort, ſhould be applied to the protection of the Iriſh trade. Here we are commanded again to taſk our faith, and to perſuade ourſelves, that out of the ſurplus of deficiency, out of the ſavings of habitual and ſyſtematick prodigality, the miniſter of wonders will provide ſupport for this nation, ſinking under the mountainous load of two hundred and thirty millions of debt. But whilſt we look with pain at his deſperate and laborious trifling; whilſt we are apprehenſive that he will break

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break his back in ſtooping to pick up chaff and ſtraws, he recovers himſelf at an elaſtick bound, and with a broad-caſt ſwing of his arm, he ſquanders over his Indian field a ſum far greater than the clear produce of the whole hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland.*

Strange as this ſcheme of conduct in miniſtry is, and inconſiſtent with all juſt policy, it is ſtill true to itſelf, and faithful to its own perverted order. Thoſe who are bountiful to crimes, will be rigid to merit, and penurious to ſervice. Their penury is even held out as a blind and cover to their prodigality. The œconomy of injuſtice is, to furniſh reſources for the fund of corruption. Then they pay off their protection to great crimes and great criminals, by being inexorable to the paltry frailties of little men; and theſe modern flagellants are ſure, with a rigid fidelity, to whip their own enormities on the vicarious back of every ſmall offender.

It is to draw your attention to œconomy of quite another order; it is to animadvert on offences of a far different deſcription, that my ho-

* The whole of the net Iriſh hereditary revenue is, on a medium of the laſt ſeven years, about 330,000*l.* yearly. The revenues of all denominations fall ſhort more than 150,000*l.* yearly of the charges. On the *preſent* produce, if Mr. Pitt's ſcheme was to take place, he might gain from ſeven to ten thouſand pounds a year.

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nourable friend has brought before you the motion of this day. It is to perpetuate the abuſes which are ſubverting the fabrick of your empire, that the motion is oppoſed. It is therefore with reaſon (and if he has power to carry himſelf through, I commend his prudence) that the right honourable gentleman makes his ſtand at the very outſet; and boldly refuſes all parliamentary information. Let him admit but one ſtep towards inquiry, and he is undone. You muſt be ignorant, or he cannot be ſafe. But before his curtain is let down, and the ſhades of eternal night ſhall veil our eaſtern dominions from our view, permit me, Sir, to avail myſelf of the means which were furniſhed in anxious and inquiſitive times, to demonſtrate out of this ſingle act of the preſent miniſter, what advantages you are to derive from permitting the greateſt concern of this nation to be ſeparated from the cognizance, and exempted even out of the competence, of parliament. The greateſt body of your revenue, your moſt numerous armies, your moſt important commerce, the richeſt ſources of your publick credit, (contrary to every idea of the known ſettled policy of England) are on the point of being converted into a myſtery of ſtate. You are going to have one half of the globe hid even from the common liberal curioſity of an Engliſh gentleman. Here a grand revolution commences. Mark the period, and mark the circumſtances. In

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moſt of the capital changes that are recorded in the principles and ſyſtem of any government, a publick benefit of ſome kind or other has been pretended. The revolution commenced in ſomething plauſible; in ſomething which carried the appearance at leaſt of puniſhment of delinquency, or correction of abuſe. But here, in the very moment of the converſion of a department of Britiſh government into an Indian myſtery, and in the very act in which the change commences, a corrupt, private intereſt is ſet up in direct oppoſition to the neceſſities of the nation. A diverſion is made of millions of the publick money from the publick treaſury to a private purſe. It is not into ſecret negotiations for war, peace, or alliance, that the houſe of commons is forbidden to inquire. It is a matter of account; it is a pecuniary tranſaction; it is the demand of a ſuſpected ſteward upon ruined tenants and an embarraſſed maſter, that the commons of Great Britain are commanded not to inſpect. The whole tenour of the right honourable gentleman's argument is conſonant to the nature of his policy. The ſyſtem of concealment is foſtered by a ſyſtem of falſehood. Falſe facts, falſe colours, falſe names of perſons and things, are its whole ſupport.

Sir, I mean to follow the right honourable gentleman over that field of deception, clearing what he has purpoſely obſcured, and fairly ſtating what it

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it was neceſſary for him to miſrepreſent. For this purpoſe, it is neceſſary you ſhould know with ſome degree of diſtinctneſs, a little of the locality, the nature, the circumſtances, the magnitude of the pretended debts on which this marvellous donation is founded, as well as of the perſons from whom and by whom it is claimed.

Madras, with its dependencies, is the ſecond (but with a long interval, the ſecond) member of the Britiſh empire in the eaſt. The trade of that city, and of the adjacent territory, was, not very long ago, among the moſt flouriſhing in Aſia. But ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh power, it has waſted away under an uniform gradual decline; inſomuch that in the year 1779 not one merchant of eminence was to be found in the whole country.* During this period of decay, about ſix hundred thouſand ſterling pounds a year have been drawn off by Engliſh gentlemen on their private account, by the way of China alone.† If we add four hundred thouſand, as probably remitted through other channels, and in other mediums, that is, in jewels, gold, and ſilver directly brought to Europe, and in bills upon the Britiſh and foreign companies, you will ſcarcely think the matter over-rated. If we fix the commencement of this

* Mr. Smith's examination before the ſelect committee, Appendix, No. 2.

† Appendix, No. 2.

extraction

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extraction of money from the Carnatick at a period no earlier than the year 1760, and close it in the year 1780, it probably will not amount to a great deal less than twenty millions of money.

During the deep silent flow of this steady stream of wealth, which set from India into Europe, it generally passed on with no adequate observation; but happening at some periods to meet rifts of rocks that checked its course, it grew more noisy and attracted more notice. The pecuniary discussions caused by an accumulation of part of the fortunes of their servants in a debt from the nabob of Arcot, was the first thing which very particularly called for, and long engaged, the attention of the court of directors. This debt amounted to eight hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, and was claimed, for the greater part, by English gentlemen, residing at Madras. This grand capital, settled at length by order at ten *per cent.* afforded an annuity of eighty-eight thousand pounds.*

Whilst the directors were digesting their astonishment at this information, a memorial was presented to them from three gentlemen, informing them that their friends had lent likewise, to merchants of Canton in China, a sum of not more than one million sterling. In this memorial they called upon the company for their assistance and

* Fourth report, Mr. Dundas's committee, p. 4.

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interpoſition with the Chineſe government for the recovery of the debt. This ſum lent to Chineſe merchants, was at 24 *per cent.* which would yield, if paid, an annuity of two hundred and forty thouſand pounds.*

Perplexed as the directors were with theſe demands, you may conceive, Sir, that they did not find themſelves very much diſembarraſſed, by being made acquainted that they muſt again exert their influence for a new reſerve of the happy parſimony of their ſervants, collected into a ſecond debt from the nabob of Arcot, amounting to two millions four hundred thouſand pounds, ſettled at an intereſt of 12 *per cent.* This is known by the name of the Conſolidation of 1777, as the former of the nabob's debts was by the title of the Conſolidation of 1767. To this was added, in a ſeparate parcel, a little reſerve called the Cavalry debt, of one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, at the ſame intereſt. The whole of theſe four capitals, amounting to four millions four hundred and forty thouſand pounds, produced at their ſeveral rates, annuities amounting to ſix hundred and twenty-three thouſand pounds a year; a good deal more than one-third of the clear land-tax of England,

* A witneſs examined before the committee of ſecrecy ſays, that eighteen *per cent.* was the uſual intereſt; but he had heard that more had been given. The above is the account which Mr. B. received.

at

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at four ſhillings in the pound; a good deal more than double the whole annual dividend of the Eaſt India company, the nominal maſters to the proprietors in theſe funds. Of this intereſt, three hundred and eighty-three thouſand two hundred pounds a year ſtood chargeable on the publick revenues of the Carnatick.

Sir, at this moment, it will not be neceſſary to conſider the various operations which the capital and intereſt of this debt have ſucceſſively undergone. I ſhall ſpeak to theſe operations when I come particularly to anſwer the right honourable gentleman on each of the heads, as he has thought proper to divide them. But this was the exact view in which theſe debts firſt appeared to the court of directors, and to the world. It varied afterwards. But it never appeared in any other than a moſt queſtionable ſhape. When this gigantick phantom of debt firſt appeared before a young miniſter, it naturally would have juſtified ſome degree of doubt and apprehenſion. Such a prodigy would have filled any common man with ſuperſtitious fears. He would exorciſe that ſhapeleſs, nameleſs form, and by every thing ſacred would have adjured it to tell by what means a ſmall number of ſlight individuals, of no conſequence or ſituation, poſſeſſed of no lucrative offices, without the command of armies, or the known adminiſtration of revenues, without profeſſion of any kind, without

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any ſort of trade ſufficient to employ a pedlar, could have, in a few years (as to ſome, even in a few months) amaſſed treaſures equal to the revenues of a reſpectable kingdom? Was it not enough to put theſe gentlemen, in the noviciate of their adminiſtration, on their guard, and to call upon them for a ſtrict inquiry (if not to juſtify them in a reprobation of thoſe demands without any inquiry at all) that when all England, Scotland, and Ireland had for years been witneſs to the immenſe ſums laid out by the ſervants of the company in ſtocks of all denominations, in the purchaſe of lands, in the buying and building of houſes, in the ſecuring quiet ſeats in parliament, or in the tumultuous riot of conteſted elections, in wandering throughout the whole range of thoſe variegated modes of inventive prodigality, which ſometimes have excited our wonder, ſometimes rouſed our indignation; that after all India was four millions ſtill in debt to *them?* India in debt to *them!* For what? Every debt for which an equivalent of ſome kind or other is not given, is on the face of it a fraud. What is the equivalent they have given? What equivalent had they to give? What are the articles of commerce, or the branches of manufacture which thoſe gentlemen have carried hence to enrich India? What are the ſciences they beamed out to enlighten it? What are the arts they introduced to chear and to adorn it?

What

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What are the religious, what the moral inſtitutions they have taught among that people as a guide to life, or as a conſolation when life is to be no more, that there is an eternal debt, a debt "ſtill paying ſtill to owe," which muſt be bound on the preſent generation in India, and entailed on their mortgaged poſterity for ever? A debt of millions, in favour of a ſet of men, whoſe names, with few exceptions, are either buried in the obſcurity of their origin and talents, or dragged into light by the enormity of their crimes?

In my opinion the courage of the miniſter was the moſt wonderful part of the tranſaction, eſpecially as he muſt have read, or rather the right honourable gentleman ſays, he has read for him, whole volumes upon the ſubject. The volumes, by the way, are not by one tenth part ſo numerous as the right honourable gentleman has thought proper to pretend, in order to frighten you from inquiry; but in theſe volumes, ſuch as they are, the miniſter muſt have found a full authority for a ſuſpicion (at the very leaſt) of every thing relative to the great fortunes made at Madras. What is that authority? Why no other than the ſtanding authority for all the claims which the miniſtry has thought fit to provide for—the grand debtor —the nabob of Arcot himſelf. Hear that prince, in the letter written to the court of directors, at the preciſe period, whilſt the main body of theſe

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debts were contracting. In his letter he ſtates himſelf to be, what undoubtedly he is, a moſt competent witneſs to this point. After ſpeaking of the war with Hyder Ali in 1768 and 1769, and of other meaſures which he cenſures (whether right or wrong it ſignifies nothing) and into which he ſays he had been led by the company's ſervants; he proceeds in this manner—" If all theſe things " were againſt the real intereſts of the company, " they are ten thouſand times more againſt mine, " and againſt the proſperity of my country, and " the happineſs of my people; for your intereſts " and mine are the ſame. *What were they owing* " *to then? to the private views of a few individuals,* " *who have enriched themſelves at the expence of your* " *influence, and of my country; for your ſervants* " *HAVE NO TRADE IN THIS COUNTRY; nei-* " *ther do you pay them high wages, yet in a few years* " *they return to England with many lacks of pagodas.* " *How can you or I account for ſuch immenſe fortunes* " *acquired in ſo ſhort a time, without any viſible* " *means of getting them?*"

When he aſked this queſtion, which involves its anſwer, it is extraordinary that curioſity did not prompt the chancellor of the exchequer to that inquiry, which might come in vain recommended to him by his own act of parliament. Does not the nabob of Arcot tell us in ſo many words, that there was no fair way of making the enormous ſums

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ſums ſent by the company's ſervants to England? and do you imagine that there was or could be more honeſty and good faith, in the demands for what remained behind in India? Of what nature were the tranſactions with himſelf? If you follow the train of his information you muſt ſee, that if theſe great ſums were at all lent, it was not property, but ſpoil that was lent; if not lent, the tranſaction was not a contract, but a fraud. Either way, if light enough could not be furniſhed to authorize a full condemnation of theſe demands, they ought to have been left to the parties, who beſt knew and underſtood each other's proceedings. It was not neceſſary that the authority of government ſhould interpoſe in favour of claims, whoſe very foundation was a defiance of that authority, and whoſe object and end was its entire ſubverſion.

It may be ſaid that this letter was written by the nabob of Arcot in a moody humour, under the influence of ſome chagrin. Certainly it was; but it is in ſuch humours that truth comes out. And when he tells you from his own knowledge, what every one muſt preſume, from the extreme probability of the thing, whether he told it or not, one ſuch teſtimony is worth a thouſand that contradict that probability, when the parties have a better underſtanding with each other, and when they have a point to carry, that may unite them in a common deceit.

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If this body of private claims of debt, real or deviſed, were a queſtion, as it is falſely pretended, between the nabob of Arcot as debtor, and Paul Benfield and his aſſociates as creditors, I am ſure, I ſhould give myſelf but little trouble about it. If the hoards of oppreſſion were the fund for ſatisfying the claims of bribery and peculation, who would wiſh to interfere between ſuch litigants? If the demands were confined to what might be drawn from the treaſures, which the company's records uniformly aſſert that the nabob is in poſſeſſion of; or if he had mines of gold or ſilver, or diamonds (as we know that he has none) theſe gentlemen might break open his hoards, or dig in his mines, without any diſturbance from me. But the gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe know as well as I do, and they dare not contradict me, that the nabob of Arcot and his creditors are not adverſaries, but colluſive parties, and that the whole tranſaction is under a falſe colour and falſe names. The litigation is not, nor ever has been, between their rapacity and his hoarded riches. No; it is between him and them combining and confederating on one ſide, and the publick revenues, and the miſerable inhabitants of a ruined country, on the other. Theſe are the real plaintiffs and the real defendants in the ſuit. Refuſing a ſhilling from his hoards for the ſatisfaction of any demand, the nabob of Arcot is always ready, nay, he earneſtly, and with eagerneſs and paſſion, contends

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contends for delivering up to theſe pretended creditors his territory and his ſubjects. It is therefore not from treaſuries and mines, but from the food of your unpaid armies, from the blood withheld from the veins, and whipt out of the backs of the moſt miſerable of men, that we are to pamper extortion, uſury, and peculation, under the falſe names of debtors and creditors of ſtate.

The great patron of theſe creditors (to whoſe honour they ought to erect ſtatues) the right honourable gentleman*, in ſtating the merits which recommended them to his favour, has ranked them under three grand diviſions. The firſt, the creditors of 1767; then the creditors of the cavalry loan; and laſtly, the creditors of the loan in 1777. Let us examine them, one by one, as they paſs in review before us.

The firſt of theſe loans, that of 1767, he inſiſts, has an indiſputable claim upon the publick juſtice. The creditors, he affirms, lent their money publickly; they advanced it with the expreſs knowledge and approbation of the company; and it was contracted at the moderate intereſt of ten *per cent.* In this loan the demand is, according to him, not only juſt, but meritorious in a very high degree; and one would be inclined to believe he thought ſo, becauſe he has put it laſt in the proviſion he has made for theſe claims.

* Mr. Dundas.

I readily

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I readily admit this debt to ſtand the faireſt of the whole; for whatever may be my ſuſpicions concerning a part of it, I can convict it of nothing worſe than the moſt enormous uſury. But I can convict upon the ſpot the right honourable gentleman, of the moſt daring miſrepreſentation in every one fact, without any exception, that he has alleged in defence of this loan, and of his own conduct with regard to it. I will ſhew you that this debt was never contracted with the knowledge of the company; that it had not their approbation; that they received the firſt intelligence of it with the utmoſt poſſible ſurpriſe, indignation, and alarm.

So far from being previouſly apprized of the tranſaction from its origin, it was two years before the court of directors obtained any official intelligence of it. "The dealings of the ſervants "with the nabob were concealed from the firſt, "until they were found out," (ſays Mr. Sayer, the company's counſel) "by the report of the "country." The preſidency, however, at laſt thought proper to ſend an official account. On this the directors tell them, "to your great re-"proach it has been *concealed from us*. We cannot "but ſuſpect this debt to have had its weight in "*your propoſed aggrandizement of Mahomed Ali* [the "nabob of Arcot]; but whether it has or has not,

"certain

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"certain it is, you are guilty of an high breach "of duty in *concealing* it from us."

Theſe expreſſions, concerning the ground of the tranſaction, its effect, and its clandeſtine nature, are in the letters, bearing date March 17, 1769. After receiving a more full account on the 23d March, 1770, they ſtate, that "Meſſrs. John Py- "bus, John Call, and James Bourchier, as truſ- "tees for themſelves and others of the nabob's "private creditors, had proved a deed of aſſign- "ment upon the nabob and his ſon of FIFTEEN "diſtricts of the nabob's country, the revenues of "which yielded, in time of peace, eight lacks of "pagodas [320,000l. ſterling] annually; and like- "wiſe an aſſignment of the yearly tribute paid the "nabob from the rajah of Tanjore, amounting to "four lacks of rupees [40,000l]." The territorial revenue, at that time poſſeſſed by theſe gentlemen, without the knowledge or conſent of their maſters, amounted to three hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling annually. They were making rapid ſtrides to the entire poſſeſſion of the country, when the directors, whom the right honourable gentleman ſtates as having authorized theſe proceedings, were kept in ſuch profound ignorance of this royal acquiſition of territorial revenue by their ſervants, that in the ſame letter they ſay, "this aſſignment was obtained by *three of the mem-* "*bers of your board*, in January 1767, yet we do "not

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" not find the *leaſt trace* of it upon your conſulta-
" tions, until Auguſt 1768, nor do any of your
" letters to us afford any information relative to
" ſuch tranſactions, till the 1ſt of November 1768.
" By your laſt letters of the 8th of May, 1769,
" you bring the whole proceedings to light in one
" view."

As to the previous knowledge of the company, and its ſanction to the debts, you ſee that this aſſertion of that knowledge is utterly unfounded. But did the directors approve of it, and ratify the tranſaction when it was known? The very reverſe. On the ſame 3d of March, the directors declare, " upon an *impartial examination* of the whole con-
" duct of our late governour and council of Fort
" George (Madras) and on the fulleſt conſidera-
" tion, that the ſaid governour and council have,
" *in notorious violation of the truſt* repoſed in them,
" manifeſtly *preferred the intereſt of private indivi-*
" *duals to that of the company*, in permitting the
" aſſignment of the revenues of certain valuable
" diſtricts, to a very large amount, from the na-
" bob to individuals"—and then highly aggravat-ing their crimes, they add " we order and direct
" that you do examine, in the moſt impartial
" manner, all the above-mentioned tranſactions;
" and that you *puniſh* by ſuſpenſion, degradation,
" diſmiſſion, or otherwiſe, as to you ſhall ſeem
" meet, all and every ſuch ſervant or ſervants of
" the

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"the company, who may by you be found guilty "of any of the above offences." "We had (ſay "the directors) the mortification to find that the "ſervants of the company, who had been *raiſed*, "*ſupported, and owed their preſent opulence to the* "*advantages* gained in ſuch ſervice, have in this "inſtance moſt *unfaithfully betrayed* their truſt, "*abandoned* the company's intereſt, and *proſtituted* "its influence to accompliſh the *purpoſes of indivi-* "*duals, whilſt the intereſt of the company is almoſt* "*wholly neglected*, and payment to us rendered ex- "tremely precarious." Here then is the rock of approbation of the court of directors, on which the right honourable gentleman ſays this debt was founded. Any member, Mr. Speaker, who ſhould come into the houſe, on my reading this ſentence of condemnation of the court of directors againſt their unfaithful ſervants, might well imagine that he had heard an harſh, ſevere, unqualified invective againſt the preſent miniſterial board of control. So exactly do the proceedings of the patrons of this abuſe tally with thoſe of the actors in it, that the expreſſions uſed in the condemnation of the one, may ſerve for the reprobation of the other, without the change of a word.

To read you all the expreſſions of wrath and indignation fulminated in this diſpatch againſt the meritorious creditors of the right honourable gentleman,

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tleman, who according to him have been ſo fully approved by the company, would be to read the whole.

The right honourable gentleman, with an addreſs peculiar to himſelf, every now and then ſlides in the preſidency of Madras, as ſynonimous to the company. That the preſidency did approve the debt, is certain. But the right honourable gentleman, as prudent in ſuppreſſing, as ſkilful in bringing forward his matter, has not choſen to tell you that the preſidency were the very perſons guilty of contracting this loan; creditors themſelves, and agents and truſtees for all the other creditors. For this the court of directors accuſe them of breach of truſt; and for this the right honourable gentleman conſiders them as perfectly good authority for thoſe claims. It is pleaſant to hear a gentleman of the law quote the approbation of creditors as an authority for their own debt.

How they came to contract the debt to themſelves, how they came to act as agents for thoſe whom they ought to have controlled, is for your inquiry. The policy of this debt was announced to the court of directors, by the very perſons concerned in creating it. "Till very lately," (ſay the preſidency) "the nabob placed his dependence "on the company. Now he has been taught "by ill-adviſers, that an intereſt out of doors may "ſtand him in good ſtead. He has been made to "believe

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"believe that *his private creditors have power and* "*intereſt to over-rule the court of directors**." The nabob was not miſinformed. The private creditors inſtantly qualified a vaſt number of votes; and having made themſelves maſters of the court of proprietors, as well as extending a powerful cabal in other places as important, they ſo completely overturned the authority of the court of directors at home and abroad, that this poor baffled government was ſoon obliged to lower its tone. It was glad to be admitted into partnerſhip with its own ſervants. The court of directors eſtabliſhing the debt which they had reprobated as a breach of truſt, and which was planned for the ſubverſion of their authority, ſettled its payments on a par with thoſe of the publick; and even ſo, were not able to obtain peace or even equality in their demands. All the conſequences lay in a regular and irreſiſtible train. By employing their influence for the recovery of this debt, their orders, iſſued in the ſame breath, againſt creating new debts, only animated the ſtrong deſires of their

* For the threats of the creditors, and total ſubverſion of the authority of the company in favour of the nabob's power, and the increaſe thereby of his evil diſpoſitions, and the great derangement of all publick concerns, ſee ſelect committee Fort St. George's letters, 21ſt November, 1769, and January 31ſt, 1770; September 11, 1772. And governour Bourchier's letters to the nabob of Arcot, 21ſt November, 1769, and December 9th, 1769.

ſervants

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ſervants to this prohibited prolifick ſport, and it ſoon produced a ſwarm of ſons and daughters, not in the leaſt degenerated from the virtue of their parents.

From that moment, the authority of the court of directors expired in the Carnatick, and every where elſe. "Every man," ſays the preſidency, "who oppoſes the government and its meaſures, "finds an immediate countenance from the nabob; "even our diſcarded officers, however unworthy, "are received into the nabob's ſervice*." It was indeed a matter of no wonderful ſagacity to determine whether the court of directors, with their miſerable ſalaries to their ſervants, of four or five hundred pounds a year, or the diſtributor of millions, was moſt likely to be obeyed. It was an invention beyond the imagination of all the ſpeculatiſts of our ſpeculating age, to ſee a government quietly ſettled in one and the ſame town, compoſed of two diſtinct members; one to pay ſcantily for obedience, and the other to bribe high for rebellion and revolt.

* "He [the nabob] is in a great degree the cauſe of our pre-"ſent inability; by diverting the revenues of the Carnatick "through *private channels*."—"Even this Peſhcuſh [the Tan-"jore tribute] circumſtanced as he and we are, he has aſſigned "over to others, *who now ſet themſelves in oppoſition to the compa-"ny*." Conſultations, October 11, 1769, on the 12th communicated to the nabob.

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The next thing which recommends this particular debt to the right honourable gentleman is, it ſeems, the moderate intereſt of ten *per cent.* It would be loſt labour to obſerve on this aſſertion. The nabob, in a long apologetick letter* for the tranſaction between him and the body of the creditors, ſtates the fact, as I ſhall ſtate it to you. In the accumulation of this debt, the firſt intereſt paid was from thirty to thirty-ſix *per cent.* it was then brought down to twenty-five *per cent.* at length it was reduced to twenty; and there it found its reſt. During the whole proceſs, as often as any of theſe monſtrous intereſts fell into an arrear, (into which they were continually falling) the arrear, formed into a new capital,† was added to the old, and the ſame intereſt of twenty *per cent.* accrued upon both. The company, having got ſome ſcent of the enormous uſury which prevailed

* Nabob's letter to governour Palk. Papers publiſhed by the directors in 1775; and papers printed by the ſame authority, 1781.

† See papers printed by order of a general court in 1780, p. 222, and p. 224, as alſo nabob's letter to governour Dupré, 19th July, 1771, "I have taken up loans by which I have "ſuffered a loſs of *upwards of a crore of pagodas* [four million "ſterling] *by intereſt on an heavy intereſt.*"—Letter 15th January, 1772, "Notwithſtanding I have taken much trouble, "and have made many payments to my creditors, yet the load "of my debt, *which became ſo great, by intereſt and compound in-* "*tereſt*, is not cleared."

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at Madras, thought it neceſſary to interfere, and to order all intereſts to be lowered to ten *per cent.* This order, which contained no exception, though it by no means pointed particularly to this claſs of debts, came like a thunder-clap on the nabob. He conſidered his political credit as ruined; but to find a remedy to this unexpected evil, he again added to the old principal twenty *per cent.* intereſt accruing for the laſt year. Thus a new fund was formed; and it was on that accumulation of various principals, and intereſts heaped upon intereſts, not on the ſum originally lent, as the right honourable gentleman would make you believe, that ten *per cent.* was ſettled on the whole.

When you conſider the enormity of the intereſt at which theſe debts were contracted, and the ſeveral intereſts added to the principal, I believe you will not think me ſo ſceptical, if I ſhould doubt, whether for this debt of 880,000*l.* the nabob ever ſaw 100,000*l.* in real money. The right honourable gentleman ſuſpecting, with all his abſolute dominion over fact, that he never will be able to defend even this venerable patriarchal job, though ſanctified by its numerous iſſue, and hoary with preſcriptive years, has recourſe to recrimination, the laſt reſource of guilt. He ſays that this loan of 1767 was provided for in Mr. Fox's India bill; and judging of others by his own nature and principles, he more than inſinuates, that this proviſion

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was made, not from any ſenſe of merit in the claim, but from partiality to general Smith, a proprietor, and an agent for that debt. If partiality could have had any weight againſt juſtice and policy, with the then miniſters and their friends, general Smith had titles to it. But the right honourable gentleman knows as well as I do, that general Smith was very far from looking on himſelf as partially treated in the arrangements of that time; indeed what man dared to hope for private partiality in that ſacred plan for relief to nations?

It is not neceſſary that the right honourable gentleman ſhould ſarcaſtically call that time to our recollection. Well do I remember every circumſtance of that memorable period. God forbid I ſhould forget it. O illuſtrious diſgrace! O victorious defeat! may your memorial be freſh and new to the lateſt generations! May the day of that generous conflict be ſtamped in characters never to be cancelled or worn out from the records of time! Let no man hear of us, who ſhall not hear that in a ſtruggle againſt the intrigues of courts, and the perfidious levity of the multitude, we fell in the cauſe of honour, in the cauſe of our country, in the cauſe of human nature itſelf! But if fortune ſhould be as powerful over fame, as ſhe has been prevalent over virtue, at leaſt our conſcience is beyond her juriſdiction. My poor ſhare

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in the ſupport of that great meaſure, no man ſhall raviſh from me. It ſhall be ſafely lodged in the ſanctuary of my heart; never, never to be torn from thence, but with thoſe holds that grapple it to life.

I ſay, I well remember that bill, and every one of its honeſt and its wiſe proviſions. It is not true that this debt was ever protected or inforced, or any revenue whatſoever ſet apart for it. It was left in that bill juſt where it ſtood; to be paid or not to be paid out of the nabob's private treaſures, according to his own diſcretion. The company had actually given it their ſanction; though always relying for its validity on the ſole ſecurity of the faith of him,* who without their knowledge or conſent entered into the original obligation. It had no other ſanction; it ought to have had no other. So far was Mr. Fox's bill from providing *funds* for it, as this miniſtry have wickedly done for this, and for ten times worſe tranſactions, out of the publick eſtate, that an expreſs clauſe immediately preceded, poſitively forbidding any Britiſh ſubject from receiving aſſignments upon any part of the territorial revenue, on any pretence whatſoever. †

You recollect, Mr. Speaker, that the chancellor of the exchequer ſtrongly profeſſed to retain every part of Mr. Fox's bill, which was intended to pre-

* The nabob of Arcot. † Appendix, No. 3.

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vent abuſe; but in *his* India bill, which (let me do juſtice) is as able and ſkilful a performance for its own purpoſes, as ever iſſued from the wit of man, premeditating this inquity—*hoc ipſum ut ſtrueret Trojamque aperiret Achivis*, expunged this eſſential clauſe, broke down the fence which was raiſed to cover the publick property againſt the rapacity of his partiſans, and thus levelling every obſtruction, he made a firm, broad, highway for ſin and death, for uſury and oppreſſion, to renew their ravages throughout the devoted revenues of the Carnatick.

The tenour, the policy, and the conſequences of this debt of 1767, are, in the eyes of miniſtry, ſo excellent, that its merits are irreſiſtible; and it takes the lead to give credit and countenance to all the reſt. Along with this choſen body of heavy-armed infantry, and to ſupport it, in the line, the right honourable gentleman has ſtationed his corps of black cavalry. If there be any advantage between this debt and that of 1769, according to him the cavalry debt has it. It is not a ſubject of defence; it is a theme of panegyrick. Liſten to the right honourable gentleman, and you will find it was contracted to ſave the country; to prevent mutiny in armies; to introduce œconomy in revenues; and for all theſe honourable purpoſes, it originated at the expreſs deſire, and by the repreſentative authority of the company itſelf.

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First, let me say a word to the authority. This debt was contracted not by the authority of the company, not by its representatives, (as the right honourable gentleman has the unparalleled confidence to assert) but in the ever-memorable period of 1777, by the usurped power of those who rebelliously, in conjunction with the nabob of Arcot, had overturned the lawful government of Madras. For that rebellion, this house unanimously directed a publick prosecution. The delinquents, after they had subverted government, in order to make to themselves a party to support them in their power, are universally known to have dealt jobs about to the right and to the left, and to any who were willing to receive them. This usurpation, which the right honourable gentleman well knows, was brought about by and for the great mass of these pretended debts, is the authority which is set up by him to represent the company; to represent that company which from the first moment of their hearing of this corrupt and fraudulent transaction, to this hour, have uniformly disowned and disavowed it.

So much for the authority. As to the facts, partly true, and partly colourable, as they stand recorded, they are in substance these.—The nabob of Arcot, as soon as he had thrown off the superiority of this country by means of these creditors, kept up a great army which he never paid. Of course, his soldiers were generally in a state of mutiny.

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mutiny.* The uſurping council ſay that they laboured hard with their maſter the nabob, to perſuade him to reduce theſe mutinous and uſeleſs troops. He conſented; but as uſual, pleaded inability to pay them their arrears. Here was a difficulty. The nabob had no money; the company had no money; every publick ſupply was empty. But there was one reſource which no ſeaſon has ever yet dried up in that climate. The *ſoucars* were at hand; that is, private Engliſh money-jobbers offered their aſſiſtance. Meſſieurs Taylor, Majendie and Call, propoſed to advance the ſmall ſum of 160,000*l.* to pay off the nabob's black cavalry, provided the company's authority was given for their loan. This was the great point of policy always aimed at, and purſued through a hundred devices by the ſervants at Madras. The preſidency, who themſelves had no authority for the functions they preſumed to exerciſe, very readily gave the ſanction of the company to thoſe ſervants who knew that the company, whoſe ſanction was demanded, had poſitively prohibited all ſuch tranſactions.

However, ſo far as the reality of the dealing goes, all is hitherto fair and plauſible; and here the right honourable gentleman concludes, with commendable prudence, his account of the buſineſs. But here it is I ſhall beg leave to commence

* See Mr. Dundas's 1ſt, 2d, and 3d reports.

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my ſupplement: for the gentleman's diſcreet modeſty has led him to cut the thread of the ſtory ſomewhat abruptly. One of the moſt eſſential parties is quite forgotten. Why ſhould the epiſode of the poor nabob be omitted? When that prince chuſes it, nobody can tell his ſtory better. Excuſe me, if I apply again to my book, and give it you from the firſt hand; from the nabob himſelf.

"Mr. Stratton became acquainted with this, "and got Mr. Taylor and others to lend me four "lacks of pagodas towards diſcharging the ar- "rears of pay of my troops. Upon this, I wrote "a letter of thanks to Mr. Stratton; and upon "the faith of this money being paid immediately, "I ordered many of my troops to be diſcharged "by a certain day, and leſſened the number of my "ſervants. Mr. Taylor, &c. ſome time after ac- "quainted me, that they had no ready money, "but they would grant teeps payable in four "months. This aſtoniſhed me; for I did not "know what might happen, when the ſepoys "were diſmiſſed from my ſervice. I begged of "Mr. Taylor and the others to pay this ſum to "the officers of my regiments at the time they "mentioned; and deſired the officers, at the ſame "time, to pacify and perſuade the men belonging "to them, that their pay would be given to them "*at the end of four months*; and that till thoſe ar- "rears were diſcharged, their pay ſhould be con-

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"tinued to them. *Two years* are nearly expired "since that time, but Mr. Taylor has not yet en- "tirely diſcharged the arrears of thoſe troops, and "I am obliged to continue their pay from that "time till this. I hoped to have been able, by "this expedient, to have leſſened the number of "my troops, and diſcharged the arrears due to "them, conſidering the trifle of intereſt to Mr. "Taylor, and the others, as no great matter; but "inſtead of this, *I am oppreſſed with the burthen of "pay due to thoſe troops; and the intereſt, which is "going on to Mr. Taylor from the day the teeps were "granted to him.*" What I have read to you is an extract of a letter from the nabob of the Carnatick to governour Rumbold, dated the 22d, and received the 24th of March, 1779.*

Suppoſe his highneſs not to be well broken in to things of this kind, it muſt indeed ſurpriſe ſo known and eſtabliſhed a bond-vender, as the nabob of Arcot, one who keeps himſelf the largeſt bond-warehouſe in the world, to find that he was now to receive in kind; not to take money for his obligations, but to give his bond in exchange for the bond of Meſſieurs Taylor, Majendie and Call, and to pay beſides, a good ſmart intereſt, legally 12 *per cent.* (in reality perhaps twenty, or twenty-four *per cent.*) for this exchange of paper. But his troops were not to be ſo paid, or ſo diſ-

* See further Conſultations, 3d February, 1778.

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banded. They wanted bread, and could not live by cutting and ſhuffling of bonds. The nabob ſtill kept the troops in ſervice, and was obliged to continue, as you have ſeen, the whole expence, to exonerate himſelf from which he became indebted to the ſoucars.

'Had it ſtood here, the tranſaction would have been of the moſt audacious ſtrain of fraud and uſury, perhaps ever before diſcovered, whatever might have been practiſed and concealed. But the ſame authority (I mean the nabob's) brings before you ſomething if poſſible more ſtriking. He ſtates, that for this their paper, he immediately handed over to theſe gentlemen ſomething very different from paper; that is, the receipt of a territorial revenue, of which it ſeems they continued as long in poſſeſſion as the nabob himſelf continued in poſſeſſion of any thing. Their payments therefore not being to commence before the end of four months, and not being completed in two years, it muſt be preſumed (unleſs they proved the contrary) that their payments to the nabob were made out of the revenues they had received from his aſſignment. Thus they condeſcended to accumulate a debt of 160,000*l.* with an intereſt of 12 *per cent.* in compenſation for a lingering payment to the nabob of 160,000*l.* of his own money.

Still we have not the whole: about two years after the aſſignment of thoſe territorial revenues

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to these gentlemen, the nabob receives a remonstrance from his chief manager, in a principal province, of which this is the tenour—"The *entire* "revenue of those districts is by your highness's "order set apart to discharge the tuncaws [assign-"ments] granted to the Europeans. The go-"mastahs [agents] of Mr. Taylor, to Mr. De "Fries, are there in order to collect those tun-"caws; and as they receive *all* the revenue that "is collected, your highness's troops have *seven* "*or eight months pay due*, which they cannot re-"ceive, and are thereby reduced to the greatest "*distress*. *In such times*, it is highly necessary to "provide for the sustenance of the troops that "they may be ready to exert themselves in the "service of your highness."

Here, Sir, you see how these causes and effects act upon one another. One body of troops mutinies for want of pay; a debt is contracted to pay them; and they still remain unpaid. A territory destined to pay other troops, is assigned for this debt; and these other troops fall into the same state of indigence and mutiny with the first. Bond is paid by bond; arrear is turned into new arrear; usury engenders new usury; mutiny suspended in one quarter, starts up in another; until all the revenues, and all the establishments are entangled into one inextricable knot of confusion, from which they are only disengaged by being entirely destroyed.

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deſtroyed. In that ſtate of confuſion, in a very few months after the date of the memorial I have juſt read to you, things were found, when the nabob's troops, famiſhed to feed Engliſh ſoucars, inſtead of defending the country, joined the invaders, and deſerted in entire bodies to Hyder Ali.*

The manner in which this tranſaction was carried on, ſhews that good examples are not eaſily forgot, eſpecially by thoſe who are bred in a great ſchool. One of thoſe ſplendid examples give me leave to mention, at a ſomewhat more early period, becauſe one fraud furniſhes light to the diſcovery of another, and ſo on, until the whole ſecret of myſterious iniquity burſts upon you in a blaze of detection. The paper I ſhall read you, is not on record. If you pleaſe you may take it on my word. It is a letter written from one of undoubted information in Madras, to Sir John Clavering, deſcribing the practice that prevailed there, whilſt the company's allies were under ſale, during the time of governour Winch's adminiſtration.

"—— One mode," ſays Clavering's correſpondent, "of amaſſing money at the nabob's coſt is "curious. He is generally in arrears to the com-

* Mr. Dundas's 1ſt report, p. 26, 29, and Appendix, No. 2, 10, 18, for the mutinous ſtate and deſertion of the nabob's troops for want of pay. See alſo report 4, of the ſame committee.

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"pany. Here the governour, being cash-keeper, "is generally on good terms with the banker, "who manages matters thus: The governour "presses the nabob for the balance due from him; "the nabob flies to his banker for relief; the "banker engages to pay the money, and grants "his notes accordingly, which he puts in the cash-"book as ready money; the nabob pays him an "interest for it at *two and three per cent. per men-"sem*, till the tunkaws he grants on the particular "districts for it are paid. Matters in the mean "time are so managed, that there is no call for "this money for the company's service, till the "tunkaws become due. By this means not a cash "is advanced by the banker, though he receives "a heavy interest from the nabob, which is di-"vided as lawful spoil."

Here, Mr. Speaker, you have the whole art and mystery, the true free-mason secret of the profession of *soucaring*; by which a few innocent, inexperienced young Englishmen, such as Mr. Paul Benfield, for instance, without property upon which any one would lend to themselves a single shilling, are enabled at once to take provinces in mortgage, to make princes their debtors, and to become creditors for millions.

But it seems the right honourable gentleman's favourite soucar cavalry, have proved the payment before the mayor's court at Madras! Have they so?

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ſo? Why then defraud our anxiety and their characters of that proof? Is it not enough that the charges which I have laid before you, have ſtood on record againſt theſe poor injured gentlemen for eight years? Is it not enough that they are in print by the orders of the Eaſt-India company for five years? After theſe gentlemen have borne all the odium of this publication, and all the indignation of the directors, with ſuch unexampled equanimity, now that they are at length ſtimulated into feeling, are you to deny them their juſt relief? But will the right honourable gentleman be pleaſed to tell us, how they came not to give this ſatisfaction to the court of directors, their lawful maſters, during all the eight years of this litigated claim? Were they not bound, by every tie that can bind man, to give them this ſatisfaction? This day, for the firſt time, we hear of the proofs. But when were theſe proofs offered? In what cauſe? Who were the parties? Who inſpected? Who conteſted this belated account? Let us ſee ſomething to oppoſe to the body of record which appears againſt them. The mayor's court! the mayor's court! Pleaſant! Does not the honourable gentleman know, that the firſt corps of creditors (the creditors of 1767) ſtated it as a ſort of hardſhip to them, that they could not have juſtice at Madras, from the impoſſibility of their ſupporting their claims in the mayor's court? Why?

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Why? becauſe, ſay they, the members of that court were themſelves creditors, and therefore could not ſit as judges.* Are we ripe to ſay that no creditor under ſimilar circumſtances was member of the court, when the payment which is the ground of this cavalry debt was put in proof? † Nay, are we not in a manner compelled to conclude, that the court was ſo conſtituted, when we know there is ſcarcely a man in Madras, who has not ſome participation in theſe tranſactions? It is a ſhame to hear ſuch proofs mentioned, inſtead of the honeſt vigorous ſcrutiny which the circumſtances of ſuch an affair ſo indiſpenſably calls for.

But his majeſty's miniſters, indulgent enough to other ſcrutinies, have not been ſatisfied with authorizing the payment of this demand without ſuch inquiry as the act has preſcribed; but they

* Memorial from the creditors to the governour and council, 22d January, 1770.

† In the year 1778, Mr. James Call, one of the proprietors of this ſpecifick debt, was actually mayor. Appendix to 2d report of Mr. Dundas's committee, No. 65.—The only proof which appeared on the inquiry inſtituted in the general court of 1781, was an affidavit of the *lenders themſelves*, depoſing (what nobody ever denied) that they had *engaged* and *agreed* to pay—not that they *had* paid the ſum of 160,000*l.* This was two years after the tranſaction; and the affidavit is made before George Proctor, mayor, an attorney for certain of the old creditors. Proceedings of the preſident and council of Fort Saint George, 22d February, 1779.

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have added the arrear of twelve *per cent.* intereſt, from the year 1777 to the year 1784, to make a new capital, raiſing thereby 160 to 294,000*l.* Then they charge a new twelve *per cent.* on the whole from that period, for a tranſaction, in which it will be a miracle if a ſingle penny will be ever found really advanced from the private ſtock of the pretended creditors.

In this manner, and at ſuch an intereſt, the miniſters have thought proper to diſpoſe of 294,000*l.* of the publick revenues, for what is called the *cavalry loan.* After diſpatching this, the right honourable gentleman leads to battle his laſt grand diviſion, the conſolidated debt of 1777. But having exhauſted all his panegyrick on the two firſt, he has nothing at all to ſay in favour of the laſt. On the contrary, he admits that it was contracted in defiance of the company's orders, without even the pretended ſanction of any pretended repreſentatives. Nobody, indeed, has yet been found hardy enough to ſtand forth avowedly in its defence. But it is little to the credit of the age, that what has not plauſibility enough to find an advocate, has influence enough to obtain a protector. Could any man expect to find that protector any where? But what muſt every man think, when he finds that protector in the chairman of the committee of ſecrecy,* who had pub-

* Right honourable Henry Dundas.

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liſhed to the houſe, and to the world, the facts that condemn theſe debts—the orders that forbid the incurring of them—the dreadful conſequences which attended them. Even in his official letter, when he tramples on his parliamentary report, yet his general language is the ſame. Read the preface to this part of the miniſterial arrangement, and you would imagine that this debt was to be cruſhed, with all the weight of indignation which could fall from a vigilant guardian of the publick treaſury, upon thoſe who attempted to rob it. What muſt be felt by every man who has feeling, when, after ſuch a thundering preamble of condemnation, this debt is ordered to be paid without any ſort of inquiry into its authenticity? without a ſingle ſtep taken to ſettle even the amount of the demand? without an attempt ſo much as to aſcertain the real perſons claiming a ſum, which riſes in the accounts from one million three hundred thouſand pound ſterling to two million four hundred thouſand pound principal money?* without an attempt made to aſcertain the proprietors, of whom no liſt has ever yet been laid before the court of directors; of proprietors who are known to be in a colluſive ſhuffle, by which they never appear to be the ſame in any two liſts, handed about for their own particular purpoſes?

* Appendix to the 4th report of Mr. Dundas's committee, No. 15.

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My honourable friend who made you the motion, has ſufficiently expoſed the nature of this debt. He has ſtated to you that *its own agents* in the year 1781, in the arrangement *they propoſed* to make at Calcutta, were ſatisfied to have twenty-five *per cent.* at once ſtruck off from the capital of a great part of this debt; and prayed to have a proviſion made for this reduced principal, without any intereſt at all. This was an arrangement of their *own*, an arrangement made by thoſe who beſt knew the true conſtitution of their own debt; who knew how little favour it merited,* and how little hopes they had to find any perſons in authority abandoned enough to ſupport it as it ſtood.

But what corrupt men, in the fond imaginations of a ſanguine avarice, had not the confidence to propoſe, they have found a chancellor of the ex-

* "No ſenſe of the common danger, in caſe of a war, can "prevail on him [the nabob of Arcot] to furniſh the company "with what is abſolutely neceſſary to aſſemble an army, though "it is beyond a doubt, that money to a large amount is now "hoarded up in his coffers at Chepauk; and tunkaws are "granted to *individuals* upon ſome of his moſt *valuable countries*, "for payment of part of thoſe debts which he has contracted, "and *which certainly will not bear inſpection, as neither debtor nor "creditors have ever had the confidence to ſubmit the accounts to our "examination*, though they expreſſed a wiſh to conſolidate the "debts under the auſpices of this government, agreeably to a "plan they had formed." Madras Conſultations, 20th July, 1778. Mr. Dundas's Appendix to 2d Report, 143. See alſo laſt Appendix to ditto Report, No. 376 B.

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chequer in England hardy enough to undertake for them. He has cheered their drooping ſpirits. He has thanked the peculators for not deſpairing of their commonwealth. He has told them they were too modeſt. He has replaced the twenty-five *per cent.* which, in order to lighten themſelves, they had abandoned in their conſcious terrour. Inſtead of cutting off the intereſt, as they had themſelves conſented to do, with the fourth of the capital, he has added the whole growth of four years uſury of twelve *per cent.* to the firſt overgrown principal; and has again grafted on this meliorated ſtock a perpetual annuity of ſix *per cent.* to take place from the year 1781. Let no man hereafter talk of the decaying energies of nature. All the acts and monuments in the records of peculation; the conſolidated corruption of ages; the patterns of exemplary plunder in the heroick times of Roman iniquity, never equalled the gigantick corruption of this ſingle act. Never did Nero, in all the inſolent prodigality of deſpotiſm, deal out to his prætorian guards a donation fit to be named with the largeſs ſhowered down by the bounty of our chancellor of the exchequer on the faithful band of his Indian ſepoys.

The right honourable gentleman* lets you freely and voluntarily into the whole tranſaction. So perfectly has his conduct confounded his un-

* Mr. Dundas.

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derſtanding, that he fairly tells you, that through the courſe of the whole buſineſs he has never conferred with any but the agents of the pretended creditors. After this, do you want more to eſtabliſh a ſecret underſtanding with the parties? to fix, beyond a doubt, their colluſion and participation in a common fraud?

If this were not enough, he has furniſhed you with other preſumptions that are not to be ſhaken. It is one of the known indications of guilt to ſtagger and prevaricate in a ſtory; and to vary in the motives that are aſſigned to conduct. Try theſe miniſters by this rule. In their official diſpatch, they tell the preſidency of Madras, that they have eſtabliſhed the debt for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe the nabob (the party indebted) does not diſpute it; ſecondly, becauſe it is miſchievous to keep it longer afloat; and that the payment of the European creditors will promote circulation in the country. Theſe two motives (for the plaineſt reaſons in the world) the right honourable gentleman has this day thought fit totally to abandon. In the firſt place, he rejects the authority of the nabob of Arcot. It would indeed be pleaſant to ſee him adhere to this exploded teſtimony. He next, upon grounds equally ſolid, abandons the benefits of that circulation, which was to be produced by drawing out all the juices of the body. Laying aſide, or forgetting theſe pretences of his diſpatch,

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diſpatch, he has juſt now aſſumed a principle totally different, but to the full as extraordinary. He proceeds upon a ſuppoſition, that many of the claims may be fictitious. He then finds, that in a caſe where many valid and many fraudulent claims are blended together, the beſt courſe for their diſcrimination is indiſcriminately to eſtabliſh them all. He truſts (I ſuppoſe) as there may not be a fund ſufficient for every deſcription of creditors, that the beſt warranted claimants will exert themſelves in bringing to light thoſe debts which will not bear an inquiry. What he will not do himſelf, he is perſuaded will be done by others; and for this purpoſe he leaves to any perſon a general power of excepting to the debt. This total change of language and prevarication in principle, is enough, if it ſtood alone, to fix the preſumption of unfair dealing. His diſpatch aſſigns motives of policy, concord, trade, and circulation. His ſpeech proclaims diſcord and litigations; and propoſes, as the ultimate end, detection.

But he may ſhift his reaſons, and wind, and turn as he will, confuſion waits him at all his doubles. Who will undertake this detection? Will the nabob? But the right honourable gentleman has himſelf this moment told us, that no prince of the country can by any motive be prevailed upon to diſcover any fraud that is practiſed upon him by the company's ſervants. He

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ſays what (with the exception of the complaint againſt the cavalry loan) all the world knows to be true: and without that prince's concurrence, what evidence can be had of the fraud of any the ſmalleſt of theſe demands? The miniſters never authorized any perſon to enter into his exchequer, and to ſearch his records. Why then this ſhameful and inſulting mockery of a pretended conteſt? Already conteſts for a preference have ariſen among theſe rival bond creditors. Has not the company itſelf ſtruggled for a preference for years, without any attempt at detection of the nature of thoſe debts with which they contended? Well is the nabob of Arcot attended to in the only ſpecifick complaint he has ever made. He complained of unfair dealing in the cavalry loan. It is fixed upon him with intereſt on intereſt; and this loan is excepted from all power of litigation.

This day, and not before, the right honourable gentleman thinks that the general eſtabliſhment of all claims is the ſureſt way of laying open the fraud of ſome of them. In India this is a reach of deep policy. But what would be thought of this mode of acting on a demand upon the treaſury in England? Inſtead of all this cunning, is there not one plain way open, that is, to put the burthen of the proof on thoſe who make the demand? Ought not miniſtry to have ſaid to the creditors, "The perſon who admits your debt "ſtands excepted to as evidence; he ſtands "charged

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"charged as a colluſive party, to hand over the "publick revenues to you for ſiniſter purpoſes? "You ſay, you have a demand of ſome millions "on the Indian treaſury; prove that you have "acted by lawful authority; prove at leaſt that "your money has been *bonâ fide* advanced; entitle "yourſelf to my protection, by the fairneſs and "fulneſs of the communications you make." Did an honeſt creditor ever refuſe that reaſonable and honeſt teſt?

There is little doubt, that ſeveral individuals have been ſeduced by the purveyors to the nabob of Arcot, to put their money (perhaps the whole of honeſt and laborious earnings) into their hands, and that at ſuch high intereſt, as, being condemned at law, leaves them at the mercy of the great managers whom they truſted. Theſe ſeduced creditors are probably perſons of no power or intereſt, either in England or India, and may be juſt objects of compaſſion. By taking, in this arrangement, no meaſures for diſcrimination and diſcovery, the fraudulent and the fair are in the firſt inſtance confounded in one maſs. The ſubſequent ſelection and diſtribution is left to the nabob. With him the agents and inſtruments of his corruption, whom he ſees to be omnipotent in England, and who may ſerve him in future, as they have done in times paſt, will have precedence, if not an excluſive preference. Theſe leading inte-

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reſts domineer, and have always domineered, over the whole. By this arrangement, the perſons ſeduced are made dependant on their ſeducers; honeſty (comparative honeſty at leaſt) muſt become of the party of fraud, and muſt quit its proper character, and its juſt claims, to entitle itſelf to the alms of bribery and peculation.

But be theſe Engliſh creditors what they may, the creditors, moſt certainly not fraudulent, are the natives, who are numerous and wretched indeed: by exhauſting the whole revenues of the Carnatick, nothing is left for them. They lent *bonâ fide*; in all probability they were even forced to lend, or to give goods and ſervice for the nabob's obligations. They had no truſts to carry to his market. They had no faith of alliances to ſell. They had no nations to betray to robbery and ruin. They had no lawful government ſeditiouſly to overturn; nor had they a governour, to whom it is owing that you exiſt in India, to deliver over to captivity, and to death, in a ſhameful priſon.*

Theſe were the merits of the principal part of the debt of 1777, and the univerſally conceived cauſes of its growth; and thus the unhappy natives are deprived of every hope of payment for their real debts, to make proviſion for the arrears of unſatisfied bribery and treaſon. You ſee in this inſtance, that the preſumption of guilt is not

* Lord Pigot.

only

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only no exception to the demands on the publick treaſury; but with theſe miniſters it is a neceſſary condition to their ſupport. But that you may not think this preference ſolely owing to their known contempt of the natives, who ought with every generous mind to claim their firſt charities; you will find the ſame rule religiouſly obſerved with Europeans too. Attend, Sir, to this deciſive caſe.—Since the beginning of the war, beſides arrears of every kind, a bond debt has been contracted at Madras, uncertain in its amount, but repreſented from four hundred thouſand pound to a million ſterling. It ſtands only at the low intereſt of eight *per cent.* Of the legal authority on which this debt was contracted, of its purpoſes for the very being of the ſtate, of its publicity and fairneſs, no doubt has been entertained for a moment. For this debt, no ſort of proviſion whatever has been made. It is rejected as an outcaſt, whilſt the whole undiſſipated attention of the miniſter has been employed for the diſcharge of claims entitled to his favour by the merits we have ſeen.

I have endeavoured to find out, if poſſible, the amount of the whole of thoſe demands, in order to ſee how much, ſuppoſing the country in a condition to furniſh the fund, may remain to ſatisfy the publick debt and the neceſſary eſtabliſhments.

But

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But I have been foiled in my attempt. About one-fourth, that is about 220,000*l.* of the loan of 1767, remains unpaid. How much intereſt is in arrear, I could never diſcover; ſeven or eight years at leaſt, which would make the whole of that debt about 396,000*l.* This ſtock, which the miniſters in their inſtructions to the governour of Madras ſtate as the leaſt exceptionable, they have thought proper to diſtinguiſh by a marked ſeverity, leaving it the only one, on which the intereſt is not added to the principal, to beget a new intereſt.

The cavalry loan, by the operation of the ſame authority, is made up to 294,000*l.* and this 294,000*l.* made up of principal and intereſt, is crowned with a new intereſt of twelve *per cent.*

What the grand loan, the bribery loan of 1777, may be, is amongſt the deepeſt myſteries of ſtate. It is probably the firſt debt ever aſſuming the title of conſolidation, that did not expreſs what the amount of the ſum conſolidated was. It is little leſs than a contradiction in terms. In the debt of the year 1767, the ſum was ſtated in the act of conſolidation, and made to amount to 880,000*l.* capital. When this conſolidation of 1777 was firſt announced at the Durbar, it was repreſented authentically at 2,400,000*l.* In that, or rather in a higher ſtate, Sir Thomas Rumbold found and condemned

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condemned it.* It afterwards fell into such a terrour, as to sweat away a million of its weight at once; and it sunk to 1,400,000*l.*† However it never was without a resource for recruiting it to its old plumpness. There was a sort of floating

* In Sir Thomas Rumbold's letter to the court of directors, March 15th, 1778, he represents it as higher, in the following manner:—"How shall I paint to you my astonishment on my "arrival here, when I was informed that independent of this "four lacks of pagodas [the cavalry loan]; independent of the "nabob's debt to his old creditors, and the money due to "the company; he had contracted a debt to the enormous "amount of sixty-three lacks of pagodas [2,520,000*l.*] I "mention this circumstance to you *with horrour*; for the credi-"tors being in general *servants of the company*, renders my task "on the part of the company, *difficult and invidious*."—"I have "freed the sanction of this government from *so corrupt* a transf-"action. It is in my mind the most venal of all proceedings, "to give the company's protection to debts that cannot bear "the light; and though it appears exceedingly alarming, that "a country, on which you are to depend for resources, should "be so involved, as to be nearly three years revenue in debt; "in a country too, where one year's revenue can never be called "*secure*, by men who know any thing of the politicks of this "part of India."—"I think it proper to mention to you, that "although the *nabob reports his private debt to amount to upwards* "*of sixty lacks*, yet I understand that it is not quite so much." Afterwards Sir Thomas Rumbold recommended this debt to the favourable attention of the company, but without any sufficient reason for his change of disposition. However he went no further.

† Nabob's proposals, November 25th, 1778; and memorial of the creditors, March 1st, 1779.

debt

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debt of about 4 or 500,000*l.* more ready to be added, as occaſion ſhould require.

In ſhort, when you preſſed this ſenſitive plant, it always contracted its dimenſions. When the rude hand of inquiry was withdrawn, it expanded in all the luxuriant vigour of its original vegetation. In the treaty of 1781, the whole of the nabob's debt to private Europeans is by Mr. Sullivan, agent to the nabob and his creditors, ſtated at 2,800,000*l.* which (if the cavalry loan, and the remains of the debt of 1767, be ſubtracted) leaves it nearly at the amount originally declared at the Durbar, in 1777. But then there is a private inſtruction to Mr. Sullivan, which it ſeems will reduce it again to the lower ſtandard of 1,400,000*l.* Failing in all my attempts by a direct account, to aſcertain the extent of the capital claimed, (where in all probability no capital was ever advanced) I endeavoured, if poſſible, to diſcover it by the intereſt which was to be paid. For that purpoſe, I looked to the ſeveral agreements for aſſigning the territories of the Carnatick to ſecure the principal and intereſt of this debt. In one of them* I found in a ſort of poſtſcript, by way of an additional remark, (not in the body of the obligation) the debt repreſented at 1,400,000*l.* But when I computed the ſums to be paid for in-

* Nabob's propoſals to his new conſolidated creditors, November 25th, 1778.

tereſt

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tereſt by inſtalments in another paper, I found they produced an intereſt of two millions, at twelve *per cent.* and the aſſignment ſuppoſed, that if theſe inſtalments might exceed, they might alſo fall ſhort of the real proviſion for that intereſt.*

Another inſtalment bond was afterwards granted. In that bond the intereſt exactly tallies with a capital of 1,400,000*l.*† But purſuing this capital through the correſpondence, I loſt ſight of it again, and it was aſſerted that this inſtalment bond was conſiderably ſhort of the intereſt that ought to be computed to the time mentioned.‡ Here are, therefore, two ſtatements of equal authority, differing at leaſt a million from each other; and as neither perſons claiming, nor any ſpecial ſum as belonging to each particular claimant, is aſcertained in the inſtruments of conſolidation, or in the inſtalment bonds, a large ſcope was left to throw in any ſums for any perſons, as their merits in advancing the intereſt of that loan might require; a power was alſo left for reduction, in caſe a harder hand, or more ſcanty funds, might be found to require it. Stronger grounds for a preſumption of fraud never appeared in any tranſaction. But the miniſters, faithful to the plan of the intereſted perſons, whom alone they

* Paper ſigned by the nabob, 6th January, 1780.

† Kiſtbundi to July 31, 1780.

‡ Governour's letter to the nabob, 25th July, 1779.

thought

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thought fit to confer with on this occaſion, have ordered the payment of the whole maſs of theſe unknown unliquidated ſums, without an attempt to aſcertain them. On this conduct, Sir, I leave you to make your own reflections.

It is impoſſible (at leaſt I have found it impoſſible) to fix on the real amount of the pretended debts with which your miniſters have thought proper to load the Carnatick. They are obſcure; they ſhun inquiry; they are enormous. That is all you know of them.

That you may judge what chance any honourable and uſeful end of government has for a proviſion that comes in for the leavings of theſe gluttonous demands, I muſt take it on myſelf to bring before you the real condition of that abuſed, inſulted, racked, and ruined country; though in truth my mind revolts from it; though you will hear it with horrour; and I confeſs I tremble when I think on theſe awful and confounding diſpenſations of Providence. I ſhall firſt trouble you with a few words as to the cauſe.

The great fortunes made in India in the beginnings of conqueſt, naturally excited an emulation in all the parts, and through the whole ſucceſſion of the company's ſervice. But in the company it gave riſe to other ſentiments. They did not find the new channels of acquiſition flow with equal riches to them. On the contrary, the high flood-

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flood-tide of private emolument was generally in the loweſt ebb of their affairs. They began alſo to fear, that the fortune of war might take away what the fortune of war had given. Wars were accordingly diſcouraged by repeated injunctions and menaces; and that the ſervants might not be bribed into them by the native princes, they were ſtrictly forbidden to take any money whatſoever from their hands. But vehement paſſion is ingenious in reſources. The company's ſervants were not only ſtimulated, but better inſtructed by the prohibition. They ſoon fell upon a contrivance which anſwered their purpoſes far better than the methods which were forbidden; though in this alſo they violated an ancient, but they thought, an abrogated order. They reverſed their proceedings. Inſtead of receiving preſents, they made loans. Inſtead of carrying on wars in their own name, they contrived an authority, at once irreſiſtible and irreſponſible, in whoſe name they might ravage at pleaſure; and being thus freed from all reſtraint, they indulged themſelves in the moſt extravagant ſpeculations of plunder. The cabal of creditors who have been the object of the late bountiful grant from his majeſty's miniſters, in order to poſſeſs themſelves, under the name of creditors and aſſignees, of every country in India, as faſt as it ſhould be conquered, inſpired into the mind of the nabob of Arcot (then a dependant

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pendant on the company of the humbleſt order) a ſcheme of the moſt wild and deſperate ambition that I believe ever was admitted into the thoughts of a man ſo ſituated.* Firſt, they perſuaded him to conſider himſelf as a principal member in the political ſyſtem of Europe. In the next place they held out to him, and he readily imbibed, the idea of the general empire of Indoſtan. As a preliminary to this undertaking, they prevailed on him to propoſe a tripartite diviſion of that vaſt country. One part to the company; another to the Marattas; and the third to himſelf. To himſelf he reſerved all the ſouthern part of the great peninſula, comprehended under the general name of the Decan.

On this ſcheme of their ſervants, the company was to appear in the Carnatick in no other light than as a contractor for the proviſion of armies, and the hire of mercenaries for his uſe, and under his direction. This diſpoſition was to be ſecured by the nabob's putting himſelf under the guarantee of France; and by the means of that rival nation, preventing the Engliſh for ever from aſſuming an equality, much leſs a ſuperiority in the

* Report of the ſelect committee, Madras Conſultations, January 7, 1771. See alſo papers publiſhed by the order of the court of directors in 1776; and lord Macartney's correſpondence with Mr. Haſtings and the nabob of Arcot. See alſo Mr. Dundas's Appendix, No. 376 B. Nabob's propoſitions through Mr. Sullivan and Aſſam Khân, Art. 6. and indeed the whole.

Carnatick.

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Carnatick. In purſuance of this treaſonable project (treaſonable on the part of the Engliſh) they extinguiſhed the company as a ſovereign power in that part of India; they withdrew the company's garriſons out of all the forts and ſtrong holds of the Carnatick; they declined to receive the ambaſſadors from foreign courts, and remitted them to the nabob of Arcot; they fell upon, and totally deſtroyed the oldeſt ally of the company, the king of Tanjore, and plundered the country to the amount of near five millions ſterling; one after another, in the nabob's name, but with Engliſh force, they brought into a miſerable ſervitude all the princes, and great independent nobility of a vaſt country.* In proportion to theſe treaſons and violences, which ruined the people, the fund of the nabob's debt grew and flouriſhed.

Among the victims to this magnificent plan of univerſal plunder, worthy of the heroick avarice of the projectors, you have all heard (and he has

* "The principal object of the expedition is to get money "from Tanjore to pay the nabob's debt: if a ſurplus, to be "applied in diſcharge of the nabob's debts to his private credi-"tors." Conſultations, March 20, 1771; and for further lights, Conſultations, 12th June, 1771. "We are alarmed, leſt "this debt to *individuals* ſhould have been the *real* motive for "the aggrandizement of Mahomed Ali [the nabob of Arcot] "and that *we are plunged into a war* to put him in poſſeſſion of "the Myſore revenues *for the diſcharge of the debt.*" Letter from the directors, March 17, 1769.

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made himſelf to be well remembered) of an Indian chief called Hyder Ali Khan. This man poſſeſſed the weſtern, as the company under the name of the nabob of Arcot does the eaſtern, diviſion of the Carnatick. It was among the leading meaſures in the deſign of this cabal (according to their own emphatick language) to *extirpate* this Hyder Ali.* They declared the nabob of Arcot to be his ſovereign, and himſelf to be a rebel, and publickly inveſted their inſtrument with the ſovereignty of the kingdom of Myſore. But their victim was not of the paſſive kind. They were ſoon obliged to conclude a treaty of peace and cloſe alliance with this rebel, at the gates of Madras. Both before and ſince that treaty, every principle of policy pointed out this power as a natural alliance; and on his part, it was courted by every ſort of amicable office. But the cabinet council of Engliſh creditors would not ſuffer their nabob of Arcot to ſign the treaty, nor even to give to a prince, at leaſt his equal, the ordinary titles of reſpect and courteſy.† From that time forward, a continued plot was carried on within the divan, black and white, of the nabob of Arcot,

* Letter from the nabob, May 1ſt, 1768; and ditto, 24th April 1770, 1ſt October; ditto, 16th September, 1772, 16th March 1773.

† Letter from the preſidency at Madras to the court of directors, 27th June 1769.

for

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for the deſtruction of Hyder Ali. As to the outward members of the double, or rather treble government of Madras, which had ſigned the treaty, they were always prevented by ſome overruling influence (which they do not deſcribe, but which cannot be miſunderſtood) from performing what juſtice and intereſt combined ſo evidently to enforce.*

When at length Hyder Ali found that he had to do with men who either would ſign no convention, or whom no treaty, and no ſignature could bind, and who were the determined enemies of human intercourſe itſelf, he decreed to make the country poſſeſſed by theſe incorrigible and predeſtinated criminals a memorable example to mankind. He reſolved, in the gloomy receſſes of a mind capacious of ſuch things, to leave the whole Carnatick an everlaſting monument of vengeance, and to put perpetual deſolation as a barrier between him and thoſe, againſt whom the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together, was no protection. He became at length ſo confident of his force, ſo collected in his might, that he made no ſecret whatſoever of his dreadful reſolution. Having terminated his diſputes with every enemy, and every rival, who buried their mutual animoſities in their common deteſtation againſt the creditors of the nabob of Arcot, he

* Mr. Dundas's committee, Report 1. Appendix No. 29.

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drew from every quarter whatever a ſavage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the arts of deſtruction; and compounding all the materials of fury, havock, and deſolation, into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilſt the authors of all theſe evils were idly and ſtupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it ſuddenly burſt, and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatick.—Then enſued a ſcene of woe, the like of which no eye had ſeen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrours of war before known or heard of, were mercy to that new havock. A ſtorm of univerſal fire blaſted every field, conſumed every houſe, deſtroyed every temple. The miſerable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages, in part were ſlaughtered; others, without regard to ſex, to age, to the reſpect of rank, or ſacredneſs of function, fathers torn from children, huſbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidſt the goading ſpears of drivers, and the trampling of purſuing horſes, were ſwept into captivity, in an unknown and hoſtile land. Thoſe who were able to evade this tempeſt, fled to the walled cities. But eſcaping from fire, ſword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine.

The alms of the ſettlement, in this dreadful exigency,

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gency, were certainly liberal; and all was done by charity that private charity could do: but it was a people in beggary; it was a nation which ſtretched out its hands for food. For months together theſe creatures of ſufferance, whoſe very exceſs and luxury in their moſt plenteous days, had fallen ſhort of the allowance of our auſtereſt faſts, ſilent, patient, reſigned, without ſedition or diſturbance, almoſt without complaint, periſhed by an hundred a day in the ſtreets of Madras; every day ſeventy at leaſt laid their bodies in the ſtreets, or on the glacis of Tanjore, and expired of famine in the granary of India. I was going to awake your juſtice towards this unhappy part of our fellow citizens, by bringing before you ſome of the circumſtances of this plague of hunger. Of all the calamities which beſet and waylay the life of man, this comes the neareſt to our heart, and is that wherein the proudeſt of us all feels himſelf to be nothing more than he is: but I find myſelf unable to manage it with decorum; theſe details are of a ſpecies of horrour ſo nauſeous and diſguſting; they are ſo degrading to the ſufferers and to the hearers; they are ſo humiliating to human nature itſelf, that, on better thoughts, I find it more adviſeable to throw a pall over this hideous object, and to leave it to your general conceptions.

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* For eighteen months, without intermiſſion, this deſtruction raged from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore; and ſo completely did theſe maſters in their art, Hyder Ali, and his more ferocious ſon, abſolve themſelves of their impious vow, that when the Britiſh armies traverſed, as they did, the Carnatick for hundreds of miles in all directions, through the whole line of their march they did not ſee one man, not one woman, not one child, not one four-footed beaſt of any deſcription whatever. One dead uniform ſilence reigned over the whole region. With the inconſiderable exceptions of the narrow vicinage of ſome few forts, I wiſh to be underſtood as ſpeaking literally;—I mean to produce to you more than three witneſſes, above all exception, who will ſupport this aſſertion in its full extent. That hurricane of war paſſed through every part of the central provinces of the Carnatick. Six or ſeven diſtricts to the north and to the ſouth (and theſe not wholly untouched) eſcaped the general ravage.

The Carnatick is a country not much inferiour in extent to England. Figure to yourſelf, Mr. Speaker, the land in whoſe repreſentative chair you ſit; figure to yourſelf the form and faſhion

* Appendix, No. 4, Report of the Committee of aſſigned Revenue.

of

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of your ſweet and chearful country from Thames to Trent, north and ſouth, and from the Iriſh to the German ſea eaſt and weſt, emptied and embowelled (may God avert the omen of our crimes!) by ſo accompliſhed a deſolation. Extend your imagination a little further, and then ſuppoſe your miniſters taking a ſurvey of this ſcene of waſte and deſolation; what would be your thoughts if you ſhould be informed, that they were computing how much had been the amount of the exciſes, how much the cuſtoms, how much the land and malt tax, in order that they ſhould charge (take it in the moſt favourable light) for publick ſervice, upon the relicks of the ſatiated vengeance of relentleſs enemies, the whole of what England had yielded in the moſt exuberant ſeaſons of peace and abundance? What would you call it? To call it tyranny, ſublimed into madneſs, would be too faint an image; yet this very madneſs is the principle upon which the miniſters at your right hand have proceeded in their eſtimate of the revenues of the Carnatick, when they were providing not ſupply for the eſtabliſhments of its protection, but rewards for the authors of its ruin.

Every day you are fatigued and diſguſted with this cant, "the Carnatick is a country that will "ſoon recover, and become inſtantly as proſper-"ous as ever." They think they are talking to innocents, who will believe that by ſowing of

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dragons teeth, men may come up ready grown and ready armed. They who will give themſelves the trouble of conſidering (for it requires no great reach of thought, no very profound knowledge) the manner in which mankind are increaſed, and countries cultivated, will regard all this raving as it ought to be regarded. In order that the people, after a long period of vexation and plunder, may be in a condition to maintain government, government muſt begin by maintaining them.—Here the road to œconomy lies not through receipt, but through expence; and in that country nature has given no ſhort cut to your object. Men muſt propagate, like other animals, by the mouth. Never did oppreſſion light the nuptial torch; never did extortion and uſury ſpread out the genial bed. Does any one of you think that England, ſo waſted, would, under ſuch a nurſing attendance, ſo rapidly and cheaply recover? But he is meanly acquainted with either England or India, who does not know that England would a thouſand times ſooner reſume population, fertility, and what ought to be the ultimate ſecretion from both, revenue, than ſuch a country as the Carnatick.

The Carnatick is not by the bounty of nature a fertile ſoil. The general ſize of its cattle is proof enough that it is much otherwiſe. It is ſome days ſince I moved, that a curious and intereſting map, kept in the India Houſe, ſhould be laid before you,

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you.* The India Houſe is not yet in readineſs to ſend it; I have therefore brought down my own copy, and there it lies for the uſe of any gentleman who may think ſuch a matter worthy of his attention. It is indeed a noble map, and of noble things; but it is deciſive againſt the golden dreams and ſanguine ſpeculations of avarice run mad. In addition to what you know muſt be the caſe in every part of the world (the neceſſity of a previous proviſion of habitation, ſeed, ſtock, capital) that map will ſhew you, that the uſes of the influences of Heaven itſelf, are in that country a work of art. The Carnatick is refreſhed by few or no living brooks or running ſtreams, and it has rain only at a ſeaſon; but its product of rice exacts the uſe of water ſubject to perpetual command. This is the national bank of the Carnatick, on which it muſt have a perpetual credit, or it periſhes irretrievably. For that reaſon, in the happier times of India, a number, almoſt incredible, of reſervoirs have been made in choſen places throughout the whole country; they are formed for the greater part of mounds of earth and ſtones, with ſluices of ſolid maſonry; the whole conſtructed with admirable ſkill and labour, and maintained at a mighty charge. In the territory contained in that map alone, I have been at the trouble of reckoning the reſervoirs, and they amount to

* Mr. Barnard's map of the Jagbire.

upwards

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upwards of eleven hundred, from the extent of two or three acres to five miles in circuit. From theſe reſervoirs currents are occaſionally drawn over the fields, and theſe watercourſes again call for a conſiderable expence to keep them properly ſcoured and duly levelled. Taking the diſtrict in that map as a meaſure, there cannot be in the Carnatick and Tanjore fewer than ten thouſand of theſe reſervoirs of the larger and middling dimenſions, to ſay nothing of thoſe for domeſtick ſervices, and the uſe of religious purification. Theſe are not the enterpriſes of your power, nor in a ſtyle of magnificence ſuited to the taſte of your miniſter. Theſe are the monuments of real kings, who were the fathers of their people; teſtators to a poſterity which they embraced as their own. Theſe are the grand ſepulchres built by ambition; but by the ambition of an inſatiable benevolence, which, not contented with reigning in the diſpenſation of happineſs during the contracted term of human life, had ſtrained, with all the reachings and graſpings of a vivacious mind, to extend the dominion of their bounty beyond the limits of nature, and to perpetuate themſelves through generations of generations, the guardians, the protectors, the nouriſhers of mankind.

Long before the late invaſion, the perſons who are objects of the grant of publick money now before you, had ſo diverted the ſupply of the pious funds

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funds of culture and population, that every where the reſervoirs were fallen into a miſerable decay.* But after thoſe domeſtick enemies had provoked the entry of a cruel foreign foe into the country, he did not leave it, until his revenge had completed the deſtruction begun by their avarice. Few, very few indeed, of theſe magazines of water that are not either totally deſtroyed, or cut through with ſuch gaps, as to require a ſerious attention and much coſt to re-eſtabliſh them, as the means of preſent ſubſiſtence to the people, and of future revenue to the ſtate.

What, Sir, would a virtuous and enlightened miniſtry do on the view of the ruins of ſuch works before them? On the view of ſuch a chaſm of deſolation as that which yawned in the midſt of thoſe countries to the north and ſouth, which ſtill bore ſome veſtiges of cultivation? They would have reduced all their moſt neceſſary eſtabliſhments; they would have ſuſpended the juſteſt payments; they would have employed every ſhilling derived from the producing, to reanimate the powers of the unproductive parts. While they were performing this fundamental duty, whilſt they were celebrating theſe myſteries of juſtice and humanity, they would have told the corps of fictitious creditors, whoſe crimes were their claims, that they muſt keep an awful diſtance; that they muſt ſilence their inauſpicious tongues; that they muſt

* See Report IV, Mr, Dundas's Committee, p. 46.

hold

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hold off their profane unhallowed paws from this holy work; they would have proclaimed with a voice that ſhould make itſelf heard, that on every country the firſt creditor is the plow; that this original, indefeaſible claim ſuperſedes every other demand.

This is what a wiſe and virtuous miniſtry would have done and ſaid. This, therefore, is what our miniſter could never think of ſaying or doing. A miniſtry of another kind would have firſt improved the country, and have thus laid a ſolid foundation for future opulence and future force. But on this grand point of the reſtoration of the country, there is not one ſyllable to be found in the correſpondence of our miniſters, from the firſt to the laſt: they felt nothing for a land deſolated by fire, ſword, and famine; their ſympathies took another direction; they were touched with pity for bribery, ſo long tormented with a fruitleſs itching of its palms; their bowels yearned for uſury, that had long miſſed the harveſt of its returning months;* they felt for peculation which had been for ſo many years raking in the duſt of an empty treaſury; they were melted into compaſſion for rapine and oppreſſion, licking their dry, parched, unbloody jaws. Theſe were the objects of their ſolicitude. Theſe were the neceſſities for which they were ſtudious to provide.

To ſtate the country and its revenues in their

* Intereſt is rated in India by the month.

real

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real condition, and to provide for those fictitious claims, consistently with the support of an army and a civil establishment, would have been impossible; therefore the ministers are silent on that head, and rest themselves on the authority of lord Macartney, who in a letter to the court of directors, written in the year 1781, speculating on what might be the result of a wise management of the countries assigned by the nabob of Arcot, rates the revenue as in time of peace, at twelve hundred thousand pounds a year, as he does those of the king of Tanjore (which had not been assigned) at four hundred and fifty. On this lord Macartney grounds his calculations, and on this they choose to ground theirs. It was on this calculation that the ministry, in direct opposition to the remonstrances of the court of directors, have compelled that miserable, enslaved body, to put their hands to an order for appropriating the enormous sum of 480,000*l.* annually, as a fund for paying to their rebellious servants a debt contracted in defiance of their clearest and most positive injunctions.

The authority and information of lord Macartney is held high on this occasion, though it is totally rejected in every other particular of this business. I believe I have the honour of being almost as old an acquaintance as any lord Macartney has. A constant and unbroken friendship has subsisted between

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tween us from a very early period; and, I truſt, he thinks, that as I reſpect his character, and in general admire his conduct, I am one of thoſe who feel no common intereſt in his reputation. Yet I do not heſitate wholly to diſallow the calculation of 1781, without any apprehenſion that I ſhall appear to diſtruſt his veracity or his judgment. This peace eſtimate of revenue was not grounded on the ſtate of the Carnatick as it then, or as it had recently, ſtood. It was a ſtatement of former and better times. There is no doubt that a period did exiſt, when the large portion of the Carnatick held by the nabob of Arcot might be fairly reputed to produce a revenue to that, or to a greater amount. But the whole had ſo melted away by the ſlow and ſilent hoſtility of oppreſſion and miſmanagement, that the revenues, ſinking with the proſperity of the country, had fallen to about 800,000*l.* a year, even before an enemy's horſe had imprinted his hoof on the ſoil of the Carnatick. From that view, and independently of the deciſive effects of the war which enſued, Sir Eyre Coote conceived that years muſt paſs before the country could be reſtored to its former proſperity and production. It was that ſtate of revenue, (namely, the actual ſtate before the war) which the directors have oppoſed to lord Macartney's ſpeculation. They refuſed to take the revenues for more than 800,000*l.* In this they

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they are juſtified by lord Macartney himſelf, who, in a ſubſequent letter, informs the court, that his ſketch is a matter of ſpeculation; it ſuppoſes the country reſtored to its ancient proſperity, and the revenue to be in a courſe of effective and honeſt collection. If therefore the miniſters have gone wrong, they were not deceived by lord Macartney: they were deceived by no man. The eſtimate of the directors is nearly the very eſtimate furniſhed by the right honourable gentleman himſelf, and publiſhed to the world in one of the printed reports of his own committee;* but as ſoon as he obtained his power, he choſe to abandon his account. No part of his official conduct can be defended on the ground of his parliamentary information.

In this claſhing of accounts and eſtimates, ought not the miniſtry, if they wiſhed to preſerve even appearances, to have waited for information of the actual reſult of theſe ſpeculations, before they laid a charge, and ſuch a charge, not conditionally and eventually, but poſitively and authoritatively, upon a country which they all knew, and which one of them had regiſtered on the records of this houſe, to be waſted beyond all example, by

* Mr. Dundas's Committee, Rep. I, p. 9. and ditto, Rep. IV. 69. where the revenue of 1777 ſtated only at 22 lacks—30 lacks ſtated as the revenue, "*ſuppoſing* the Carnatick to be *properly* "managed."

every

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every oppreſſion of an abuſive government, and every ravage of a deſolating war. But that you may diſcern in what manner they uſe the correſpondence of office, and that thereby you may enter into the true ſpirit of the miniſterial board of control, I deſire you, Mr. Speaker, to remark, that through their whole controverſy with the court of directors, they do not ſo much as hint at their ever having ſeen any other paper from lord Macartney, or any other eſtimate of revenue, than this of 1781. To this they hold. Here they take poſt; here they entrench themſelves.

When I firſt read this curious controverſy between the miniſterial board and the court of directors, common candour obliged me to attribute their tenacious adherence to the eſtimate of 1781, to a total ignorance of what had appeared upon the records. But the right honourable gentleman has choſen to come forward with an uncalled-for declaration; he boaſtingly tells you, that he has ſeen, read, digeſted, compared every thing; and that if he has ſinned, he has ſinned with his eyes broad open. Since then the miniſters will obſtinately ſhut the gates of mercy on themſelves, let them add to their crimes what aggravations they pleaſe. They have then (ſince it muſt be ſo) wilfully and corruptly ſuppreſſed the information which they ought to have produced; and for the ſupport of peculation, have made themſelves guilty of

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of ſpoliation and ſuppreſſion of evidence.* The paper I hold in my hand, which totally overturns (for the preſent at leaſt) the eſtimate of 1781, they have no more taken notice of in their controverſy with the court of directors, than if it had no exiſtence. It is the report made by a committee appointed at Madras, to manage the whole of the ſix countries aſſigned to the company by the nabob of Arcot. This committee was wiſely inſtituted by lord Macartney, to remove from himſelf the ſuſpicion of all improper management in ſo invidious a truſt; and it ſeems to have been well choſen. This committee has made a comparative eſtimate of the only ſix diſtricts which were in a condition to be let to farm. In one ſet of columns they ſtate the groſs and net produce of the diſtricts as let by the nabob. To that ſtatement they oppoſe the terms on which the ſame diſtricts were rented for five years, under their authority. Under the nabob, the groſs farm was ſo high as 570,000*l.* ſterling. What was the clear produce? Why, no more than about 250,000*l.* and this was the whole profit of the nabob's treaſury, under his own management, of all the diſtricts which were in a condition to be let to farm on the 27th of May, 1782. Lord Macartney's leaſes ſtipulated a groſs produce of no more than about 530,000*l.*

* See Appendix, No. 4, Statement in the Report of the Committee of aſſigned Revenue.

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but then the eſtimated net amount was nearly double the nabob's. It however did not then exceed 480,000*l*; and lord Macartney's commiſſioners take credit for an annual revenue amounting to this clear ſum. Here is no ſpeculation; here is no inaccurate account clandeſtinely obtained from thoſe who might wiſh, and were enabled to deceive. It is the authorized recorded ſtate of a real recent tranſaction. Here is not twelve hundred thouſand pound, not eight hundred. The whole revenue of the Carnatick yielded no more in May 1782 than four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds; nearly the very preciſe ſum which your miniſter, who is ſo careful of the publick ſecurity, has carried from all deſcriptions of eſtabliſhment to form a fund for the private emolument of his creatures.

In this eſtimate, we ſee, as I have juſt obſerved, the nabob's farms rated ſo high as 570,000*l*. Hitherto all is well; but follow on to the effective net revenue; there the illuſion vaniſhes; and you will not find nearly ſo much as half the produce. It is with reaſon therefore lord Macartney invariably throughout the whole correſpondence, qualifies all his views and expectations of revenue, and all his plans for its application, with this indiſpenſable condition, that the management is not in the hands of the nabob of Arcot. Should that fatal meaſure take place, he has over and over again

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again told you, that he has no proſpect of realiſing any thing whatſoever for any publick purpoſe. With theſe weighty declarations, confirmed by ſuch a ſtate of indiſputable fact before them; what has been done by the chancellor of the exchequer and his accomplices? Shall I be believed? They have delivered over thoſe very territories, on the keeping of which in the hands of the committee, the defence of our dominions, and what was more dear to them, poſſibly, their own job depended; they have delivered back again without condition, without arrangement, without ſtipulation of any ſort for the natives of any rank, the whole of thoſe vaſt countries, to many of which he had no juſt claim, into the ruinous miſmanagement of the nabob of Arcot. To crown all, according to their miſerable practice whenever they do any thing tranſcendently abſurd, they preface this their abdication of their truſt, by a ſolemn declaration that they were not obliged to it by any principle of policy, or any demand of juſtice whatſoever.

I have ſtated to you the eſtimated produce of the territories of the Carnatick, in a condition to be farmed in 1782, according to the different managements into which they might fall; and this eſtimate the miniſters have thought proper to ſuppreſs. Since that, two other accounts have been received. The firſt informs us, that there has

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been a recovery of what is called arrear, as well as of an improvement of the revenue of one of the ſix provinces which were let in 1782.* It was brought about by making a new war. After ſome ſharp actions, by the reſolution and ſkill of colonel Fullarton, ſeveral of the petty princes of the moſt ſoutherly of the unwaſted provinces were compelled to pay very heavy rents and tributes, who for a long time before had not paid any acknowledgment. After this reduction, by the care of Mr. Irwin, one of the committee, that province was divided into twelve farms. This operation raiſed the income of that particular province; the others remain as they were firſt farmed. So that inſtead of producing only their original rent of 480,000*l.* they netted in about two years and a quarter, 1,320,000*l.* ſterling, which would be about 660,000*l.* a year, if the recovered arrear was not included. What deduction is to be made on account of that arrear I cannot determine, but certainly what would reduce the annual income conſiderably below the rate I have allowed.

The ſecond account received, is the letting of the waſted provinces of the Carnatick. This I underſtand is at a growing rent, which may or may not realiſe what it promiſes; but if it ſhould anſwer, it will raiſe the whole, at ſome future time, to 1,200,000*l.*

* The province of Tinnevelly.

You

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You muſt here remark, Mr. Speaker, that this revenue is the produce of *all* the nabob's dominions. During the aſſignment, the nabob paid nothing, becauſe the company had all. Suppoſing the whole of the lately aſſigned territory to yield up to the moſt ſanguine expectations of the right honourable gentleman; and ſuppoſe 1,200,000*l.* to be annually realiſed (of which we actually know of no more than the realiſing of ſix hundred thouſand) out of this you muſt deduct the ſubſidy and rent which the nabob paid before the aſſignment, namely 340,000*l.* a year. This reduces back the revenue applicable to the new diſtribution made by his majeſty's miniſters, to about 800,000*l.* Of that ſum five eighths are by them ſurrendered to the debts. The remaining three are the only fund left for all the purpoſes ſo magnificently diſplayed in the letter of the board of control; that is for a new-caſt peace eſtabliſhment; a new fund for ordnance and fortifications; and a large allowance for what they call "the ſplendour of the "Durbar."

You have heard the account of theſe territories as they ſtood in 1782. You have ſeen the *actual* receipt ſince the aſſignment in 1781, of which I reckon about two years and a quarter productive. I have ſtated to you the expectation from the waſted part. For realiſing all this you may value yourſelves on the vigour and diligence of a governour

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and committee that have done ſo much. If theſe hopes from the committee are rational—remember that the committee is no more. Your miniſters, who have formed their fund for theſe debts on the preſumed effect of the committee's management, have put a complete end to that committee. Their acts are reſcinded; their leaſes are broken; their renters are diſperſed. Your miniſters knew when they ſigned the death-warrant of the Carnatick, that the nabob would not only turn all theſe unfortunate farmers of revenue out of employment, but that he has denounced his ſevereſt vengeance againſt them, for acting under Britiſh authority. With a knowledge of this diſpoſition, a Britiſh chancellor of the exchequer, and treaſurer of the navy, incited by no publick advantage, impelled by no publick neceſſity, in a ſtrain of the moſt wanton perfidy which has ever ſtained the annals of mankind, have delivered over to plunder, impriſonment, exile, and death itſelf, according to the mercy of ſuch execrable tyrants as Amir ul Omra and Paul Benfield, the unhappy and deluded ſouls, who, untaught by uniform example, were ſtill weak enough to put their truſt in Engliſh faith.* They have gone farther; they have thought proper to mock and outrage their miſery by ordering them protection and compenſation. From what power is this protection to be derived? And

* Appendix, No. 5.

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from what fund is this compenſation to ariſe? The revenues are delivered over to their oppreſſor; the territorial juriſdiction, from whence that revenue is to ariſe, and under which they live, is ſurrendered to the ſame iron hands: and that they ſhall be deprived of all refuge, and all hope, the miniſter has made a ſolemn, voluntary declaration, that he never will interfere with the nabob's internal government.*

The laſt thing conſidered by the board of controul among the debts of the Carnatick, was that ariſing to the Eaſt-India company, which after the proviſion for the cavalry, and the conſolidation of 1777, was to divide the reſidue of the fund of 480,000*l.* a year with the lenders of 1767. This debt the worthy chairman, who ſits oppoſite to me, contends to be three millions ſterling. Lord Macartney's account of 1781, ſtates it to be at that period, 1,200,000*l.* The firſt account of the court of directors makes it 900,000*l.* This, like the private debt, being without any ſolid exiſtence, is incapable of any diſtinct limits. Whatever its amount or its validity may be, one thing is clear; it is of the nature and quality of a publick debt. In that light nothing is provided for it, but an eventual ſurplus to be divided with one claſs of the private demands, after ſatisfying the two firſt claſſes. Never was a more ſhameful poſtponing a publick demand, which by the reaſon

* See extract of their letter in the Appendix, No. 9.

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of the thing, and the uniform practice of all nations, superfedes every private claim.

Thoſe who gave this preference to private claims, conſider the company's as a lawful demand; elſe, why did they pretend to provide for it? On their own principles they are condemned.

But I, Sir, who profeſs to ſpeak to your underſtanding and to your conſcience, and to bruſh away from this buſineſs all falſe colours, all falſe appellations, as well as falſe facts, do poſitively deny that the Carnatick owes a ſhilling to the company; whatever the company may be indebted to that undone country. It owes nothing to the company for this plain and ſimple reaſon—The territory charged with the debt is their own. To ſay that their revenues fall ſhort, and owe them money, is to ſay they are in debt to themſelves, which is only talking nonſenſe. The fact is, that by the invaſion of an enemy, and the ruin of the country, the company, either in its own name, or in the names of the nabob of Arcot and rajah of Tanjore, has loſt for ſeveral years what it might have looked to receive from its own eſtate. If men were allowed to credit themſelves upon ſuch principles, any one might ſoon grow rich by this mode of accounting. A flood comes down upon a man's eſtate in the Bedford Level of a thouſand pounds a year, and drowns his rents for ten years. The chancellor would put that man into the hands of a truſtee, who would gravely

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gravely make up his books, and for this loſs credit himſelf in his account for a debt due to him of 10,000*l.* It is, however, on this principle the company makes up its demands on the Carnatick. In peace they go the full length, and indeed more than the full length, of what the people can bear for current eſtabliſhments; then they are abſurd enough to conſolidate all the calamities of war into debts; to metamorphoſe the devaſtations of the country into demands upon its future production. What is this but to avow a reſolution utterly to deſtroy their own country, and to force the people to pay for their ſufferings, to a government which has proved unable to protect either the ſhare of the huſbandman or their own? In every leaſe of a farm, the invaſion of an enemy, inſtead of forming a demand for arrear, is a releaſe of rent; nor for that releaſe is it at all neceſſary to ſhow, that the invaſion has left nothing to the occupier of the ſoil; though in the preſent caſe it would be too eaſy to prove that melancholy fact.* I therefore applauded my right honourable friend, who, when he canvaſſed the company's accounts, as a preliminary to a bill that ought not to ſtand on falſehood of any kind, fixed his diſcerning eye, and his deciding hand, on theſe debts of the company, from the nabob of Arcot and rajah of Tanjore,

* "It is certain that the incurſion of a *few* of Hyder's horſe "into the Jaghire, in 1767, coſt the company upwards of pa-"godas 27,000, *in allowances for damages.*" Conſultations, February 11th, 1771.

and

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and at one ſtroke expunged them all, as utterly irrecoverable; he might have added as utterly unfounded.

On theſe grounds I do not blame the arrangement this day in queſtion, as a preference given to the debt of individuals over the company's debt. In my eye it is no more than the preference of a fiction over a chimera; but I blame the preference given to thoſe fictitious private debts over the ſtanding defence and the ſtanding government. It is there the publick is robbed. It is robbed in its army; it is robbed in its civil adminiſtration; it is robbed in its credit; it is robbed in its inveſtment which forms the commercial connection between that country and Europe. There is the robbery.

But my principal objection lies a good deal deeper. That debt to the company is the pretext under which all the other debts lurk and cover themſelves. That debt forms the foul putrid mucus, in which are engendered the whole brood of creeping aſcarides, all the endleſs involutions, the eternal knot, added to a knot of thoſe inexpugnable tape-worms which devour the nutriment, and eat up the bowels of India.* It is neceſſary, Sir, you ſhould recollect two things:

* Proceeding at Madras, 11th February, 1769, and throughout the correſpondence on this ſubject; particularly Conſultations, October 4th, 1769, and the Creditors' Memorial, 20th January, 1770.

firſt,

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firſt that the nabob's debt to the company carries no intereſt. In the next place you will obſerve, that whenever the company has occaſion to borrow, ſhe has always commanded whatever ſhe thought fit at eight *per cent.* Carrying in your mind theſe two facts, attend to the proceſs with regard to the publick and private debt, and with what little appearance of decency they play into each other's hands a game of utter perdition to the unhappy natives of India. The nabob falls into an arrear to the company. The preſidency preſſes for payment. The nabob's anſwer is, I have no money. Good. But there are ſoucars who will ſupply you on the mortgage of your territories. Then ſteps forward ſome Paul Benfield, and from his grateful compaſſion to the nabob, and his filial regard to the company, he unlocks the treaſures of his virtuous induſtry; and for a conſideration of twenty-four or thirty-ſix *per cent.* on a mortgage of the territorial revenue, becomes ſecurity to the company for the nabob's arrear.

All this intermediate uſury thus becomes ſanctified by the ultimate view to the company's payment. In this caſe, would not a plain man aſk this plain queſtion of the company; if you know that the nabob muſt annually mortgage his territories to your ſervants to pay his annual arrear to you, why is not the aſſignment or mortgage made directly to the company itſelf? By this ſimple obvious

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vious operation, the company would be relieved and the debt paid, without the charge of a ſhilling intereſt to that prince. But if that courſe ſhould be thought too indulgent, why do they not take that aſſignment with ſuch intereſt to themſelves as they pay to others, that is eight *per cent?* Or if it were thought more adviſeable (why it ſhould I know not) that he muſt borrow, why do not the company lend their own credit to the nabob for their own payment? That credit would not be weakened by the collateral ſecurity of his territorial mortgage. The money might ſtill be had at eight *per cent.* Inſtead of any of theſe honeſt and obvious methods, the company has for years kept up a ſhew of diſintereſtedneſs and moderation, by ſuffering a debt to accumulate to them from the country powers without any intereſt at all; and at the ſame time have ſeen before their eyes, on a pretext of borrowing to pay that debt, the revenues of the country charged with an uſury of twenty, twenty-four, thirty-ſix, and even eight-and-forty *per cent.* with compound intereſt,* for the benefit of their ſervants. All this time they know that by having a debt ſubſiſting without any intereſt, which is to be paid by contracting a debt on the higheſt intereſt, they manifeſtly render it neceſſary to the nabob of Arcot to give the private demand a preference to the

* Appendix No. 7.

publick;

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publick; and by binding him and their ſervants together in a common cauſe, they enable him to form a party to the utter ruin of their own authority, and their own affairs. Thus their falſe moderation, and their affected purity, by the natural operation of every thing falſe, and every thing affected, becomes pander and bawd to the unbridled debauchery and licentious lewdneſs of uſury and extortion.

In conſequence of this double game, all the territorial revenues have, at one time or other, been covered by thoſe locuſts, the Engliſh ſoucars. Not one ſingle foot of the Carnatick has eſcaped them; a territory as large as England. During theſe operations what a ſcene has that country preſented!* The uſurious European aſſignee ſuperſedes the nabob's native farmer of the revenue; the farmer flies to the nabob's preſence to claim his

* For ſome part of theſe uſurious tranſactions, ſee Conſultation 28th January 1781; and for the nabob's excuſing his oppreſſions on account of theſe debts, Conſultation 26th November 1770. "Still I undertook, firſt, the payment of the money "belonging to the company, who are my kind friends, and by "borrowing, and *mortgaging my jewels*, &c. by *taking from every* "*one of my ſervants*, in proportion to their circumſtances, by *freſh* "*ſeverities* alſo on my country, *notwithſtanding its diſtreſſed ſtate*, "as you know."—The Board's remark is as follows; after controverting ſome of the facts, they ſay, "That his countries "are oppreſſed is moſt certain, but not from real neceſſity; *his* "*debts indeed have afforded him a conſtant pretence* for uſing ſeveri-"ties and cruel oppreſſions."

bargain;

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bargain; whilſt his ſervants murmur for wages, and his ſoldiers mutiny for pay. The mortgage to the European aſſignee is then reſumed, and the native farmer replaced; replaced, again to be removed on the new clamour of the European aſſignee.* Every man of rank and landed fortune being long ſince extinguiſhed, the remaining miſerable laſt cultivator, who grows to the ſoil, after having his back ſcored by the farmer, has it again flayed by the whip of the aſſignee, and is thus by a ravenous, becauſe a ſhort-lived ſucceſſion of claimants, laſhed from oppreſſor to oppreſſor, whilſt a ſingle drop of blood is left as the means of extorting a ſingle grain of corn. Do not think I paint. Far, very far from it; I do not reach the fact, nor approach to it. Men of reſpectable condition, men equal to your ſubſtantial Engliſh yeomen, are daily tied up and ſcourged to anſwer the multiplied demands of various contending and contradictory titles, all iſſuing from one and the ſame ſource. Tyrannous exaction brings on ſervile concealment; and that again calls forth tyrannous coercion. They move in a circle, mutually producing and produced; till at length nothing of humanity is left in the government, no

* See Conſultation 28th January 1781, where it is aſſerted, and not denied, that the nabob's farmers of revenue ſeldom continue for three months together. From this the ſtate of the country may be eaſily judged of.

trace

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trace of integrity, ſpirit, or manlineſs in the people, who drag out a precarious and degraded exiſtence under this ſyſtem of outrage upon human nature. Such is the effect of the eſtabliſhment of a debt to the company, as it has hitherto been managed, and as it ever will remain, until ideas are adopted totally different from thoſe which prevail at this time.

Your worthy miniſters, ſupporting what they are obliged to condemn, have thought fit to renew the company's old order againſt contracting private debts in future. They begin by rewarding the violation of the ancient law; and then they gravely re-enact proviſions, of which they have given bounties for the breach. This inconſiſtency has been well expoſed.* But what will you ſay to their having gone the length of giving poſitive directions for contracting the debt which they poſitively forbid?

I will explain myſelf. They order the nabob, out of the revenues of the Carnatick, to allot four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds a year, as a fund for the debts before us. For the punctual payment of this annuity, they order him to give *ſoucar* ſecurity.† When a *ſoucar*, that is a money dealer, becomes ſecurity for any native prince, the courſe is, for the native prince to coun-

* In Mr. Fox's ſpeech.

† The amended Letter, Appendix, No. 9.

terſecure

terſecure the money dealer, by making over to him in mortgage a portion of his territory, equal to the ſum annually to be paid, with an intereſt of at leaſt twenty-four *per cent.* The point fit for the houſe to know is, who are theſe ſoucars, to whom this ſecurity on the revenues in favour of the nabob's creditors is to be given? The majority of the houſe, unaccuſtomed to theſe tranſactions, will hear with aſtoniſhment that theſe ſoucars are no other than the creditors themſelves. The miniſter, not content with authorizing theſe tranſactions in a manner and to an extent unhoped for by the rapacious expectations of uſury itſelf, loads the broken back of the Indian revenues, in favour of his worthy friends the ſoucars, with an additional twenty-four *per cent.* for being ſecurity to themſelves for their own claims; for condeſcending to take the country in mortgage, to pay to themſelves the fruits of their own extortions.

The intereſt to be paid for this ſecurity, according to the moſt moderate ſtrain of ſoucar demand, comes to one hundred and eighteen thouſand pounds a year, which added to the 480,000*l.* on which it is to accrue, will make the whole charge on account of theſe debts on the Carnatick revenues amount to 598,000*l.* a year, as much as even a long peace will enable thoſe revenues to produce. Can any one reflect for a moment on all thoſe claims of debt, which the miniſter exhauſts himſelf

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ſelf in contrivances to augment with new uſuries, without lifting up his hands and eyes in aſtoniſhment of the impudence, both of the claim and of the adjudication? Services of ſome kind or other theſe ſervants of the company muſt have done, ſo great and eminent, that the chancellor of the exchequer cannot think that all they have brought home is half enough. He halloos after them, "Gentlemen, you have forgot a large packet be-"hind you, in your hurry; you have not ſuffi-"ciently recovered yourſelves; you ought to have, "and you ſhall have, intereſt upon intereſt, upon "a prohibited debt that is made up of intereſt "upon intereſt. Even this is too little. I have "thought of another character for you, by which "you may add ſomething to your gains; you ſhall "be ſecurity to yourſelves; and hence will ariſe a "new uſury, which ſhall efface the memory of all "the uſuries ſuggeſted to you by your own dull "inventions."

I have done with the arrangement relative to the Carnatick. After this it is to little purpoſe to obſerve on what the miniſters have done to Tanjore. Your miniſters have not obſerved even form and ceremony in their outrageous and inſulting robbery of that country, whoſe only crime has been, its early and conſtant adherence to the power of this, and the ſuffering of an uniform pillage in conſequence of it. The debt of the company from

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the rajah of Tanjore, is juſt of the ſame ſtuff with that of the nabob of Arcot.

The ſubſidy from Tanjore, on the arrear of which this pretended debt (if any there be) has accrued to the company, is not, like that paid by the nabob of Arcot, a compenſation for vaſt countries obtained, augmented, and preſerved for him; not the price of pillaged treaſuries, ranſacked houſes, and plundered territories.—It is a large grant, from a ſmall kingdom not obtained by our arms; robbed, not protected by our power; a grant for which no equivalent was ever given, or pretended to be given. The right honourable gentleman, however, bears witneſs in his reports to the punctuality of the payments of this grant of bounty, or, if you pleaſe, of fear. It amounts to one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling net annual ſubſidy. He bears witneſs to a further grant of a town and port, with an annexed diſtrict of thirty thouſand pound a year, ſurrendered to the company ſince the firſt donation. He has not borne witneſs, but the fact is, (he will not deny it) that in the midſt of war, and during the ruin and deſolation of a conſiderable part of his territories, this prince made many very large payments. Notwithſtanding theſe merits and ſervices, the firſt regulation of miniſtry is to force from him a territory of an extent which they have not yet thought proper to aſcertain,* for a military peace

* Appendix, No. 8.

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eſtabliſhment; the particulars of which they have not yet been pleaſed to ſettle.

The next part of their arrangement is with regard to war. As confeſſedly this prince had no ſhare in ſtirring up any of the former wars; ſo all future wars are completely out of his power; for he has no troops whatever; and is under a ſtipulation not ſo much as to correſpond with any foreign ſtate, except through the company. Yet, in caſe the company's ſervants ſhould be again involved in war, or ſhould think proper again to provoke any enemy, as in times paſt they have wantonly provoked all India, he is to be ſubjected to a new penalty. To what penalty?—Why, to no leſs than the confiſcation of all his revenues. But this is to end with the war, and they are to be faithfully returned?—Oh! no; nothing like it. The country is to remain under confiſcation until all the debt which the company ſhall think fit to incur in ſuch war ſhall be diſcharged; that is to ſay, for ever. His ſole comfort is to find his old enemy, the nabob of Arcot, placed in the very ſame condition.

The revenues of that miſerable country were, before the invaſion of Hyder, reduced to a *groſs* annual receipt of three hundred and ſixty thouſand pound.* From this receipt the ſubſidy I have

* Mr. Petrie's evidence before the ſelect committee, App. No. 7.

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juſt ſtated is taken. This again, by payments in advance, by extorting depoſits of additional ſums to a vaſt amount for the benefit of their ſoucars, and by an endleſs variety of other extortions, publick and private, is loaded with a debt, the amount of which I never could aſcertain, but which is large undoubtedly, generating an uſury the moſt completely ruinous that probably was ever heard of; *that is, forty-eight per cent. payable monthly, with compound intereſt.**

Such is the ſtate to which the company's ſervants have reduced that country. Now come the reformers, reſtorers, and comforters of India. What have they done? In addition to all theſe tyrannous exactions with all theſe ruinous debts in their train, looking to one ſide of an agreement whilſt they wilfully ſhut their eyes to the other, they withdraw from Tanjore all the benefits of the treaty of 1762, and they ſubject that nation to a perpetual tribute of forty thouſand a year to the nabob of Arcot; a tribute never due, or pretended to be due to *him*, even when he appeared to be ſomething; a tribute, as things now ſtand, not to a real potentate, but to a ſhadow, a dream, an incubus of oppreſſion. After the company has accepted in ſubſidy, in grant of territory, in remiſſion of rent, as a compenſation for their own

* Appendix, No. 7.

protection,

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protection, at leaſt two hundred thouſand pound a year, without diſcounting a ſhilling for that receipt, the miniſters condemn this haraſſed nation to be tributary to a perſon who is himſelf, by their own arrangement, deprived of the right of war or peace; deprived of the power of the ſword; forbid to keep up a ſingle regiment of ſoldiers; and is therefore wholly diſabled from all protection of the country which is the object of the pretended tribute. Tribute hangs on the ſword. It is an incident inſeparable from real ſovereign power. In the preſent caſe to ſuppoſe its exiſtence, is as abſurd as it is cruel and oppreſſive. And here, Mr. Speaker, you have a clear exemplification of the uſe of thoſe falſe names, and falſe colours, which the gentlemen who have lately taken poſſeſſion of India chooſe to lay on for the purpoſe of diſguiſing their plan of oppreſſion. The nabob of Arcot, and rajah of Tanjore, have, in truth and ſubſtance, no more than a merely civil authority, held in the moſt entire dependence on the company. The nabob, without military, without federal capacity, is extinguiſhed as a potentate; but then he is carefully kept alive as an independent and ſovereign power, for the purpoſe of rapine and extortion; for the purpoſe of perpetuating the old intrigues, animoſities, uſuries, and corruptions.

It was not enough that this mockery of tribute

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was to be continued without the correſpondent protection, or any of the ſtipulated equivalents, but ten years of arrear, to the amount of 400,000*l.* ſterling, is added to all the debts to the company, and to individuals, in order to create a new debt, to be paid (if at all poſſible to be paid in whole or in part) only by new uſuries; and all this for the nabob of Arcot, or rather for Mr. Benfield, and the corps of the nabob's creditors and their ſoucars. Thus theſe miſerable Indian princes are continued in their ſeats, for no other purpoſe than to render them in the firſt inſtance objects of every ſpecies of extortion; and in the ſecond, to force them to become, for the ſake of a momentary ſhadow of reduced authority, a ſort of ſubordinate tyrants, the ruin and calamity, not the fathers and cheriſhers of their people.

But take this tribute only as a mere charge (without title, cauſe, or equivalent) on this people; what one ſtep has been taken to furniſh grounds for a juſt calculation and eſtimate of the proportion of the burthen and the ability? None; not an attempt at it. They do not adapt the burthen to the ſtrength; but they eſtimate the ſtrength of the bearers by the burthen they impoſe. Then what care is taken to leave a fund ſufficient to the future reproduction of the revenues that are to bear all theſe loads? Every one, but tolerably converſant in Indian affairs, muſt know that the exiſtence

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exiſtence of this little kingdom depends on its control over the river Cavery. The benefits of heaven to any community, ought never to be connected with political arrangements, or made to depend on the perſonal conduct of princes; in which the miſtake, or errour, or neglect, or diſtreſs, or paſſion of a moment on either ſide, may bring famine on millions, and ruin an innocent nation perhaps for ages. The means of the ſubſiſtence of mankind ſhould be as immutable as the laws of nature, let power and dominion take what courſe they may.—Obſerve what has been done with regard to this important concern. The uſe of this river is indeed at length given to the rajah, and a power provided for its enjoyment *at his own charge*; but the means of furniſhing that charge (and a mighty one it is) are wholly cut off. This uſe of the water, which ought to have no more connexion than clouds and rains, and ſunſhine, with the politicks of the rajah, the nabob, or the company, is expreſsly contrived as a means of enforcing demands and arrears of tribute. This horrid and unnatural inſtrument of extortion had been a diſtinguiſhing feature in the enormities of the Carnatick politicks that loudly called for reformation. But the food of a whole people is by the reformers of India conditioned on payments from its prince, at a moment that he is overpowered with a ſwarm of their demands, without regard

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to the ability of either prince or people. In fine, by opening an avenue to the irruption of the nabob of Arcot's creditors and ſoucars, whom every man who did not fall in love with oppreſſion and corruption on an experience of the calamities they produced, would have raiſed wall before wall, and mound before mound, to keep from a poſſibility of entrance, a more deſtructive enemy than Hyder Ali is introduced into that kingdom. By this part of their arrangement in which they eſtabliſh a debt to the nabob of Arcot, in effect and ſubſtance, they deliver over Tanjore, bound hand and foot, to Paul Benfield, the old betrayer, inſulter, oppreſſor, and ſcourge of a country, which has for years been an object of an unremitted, but unhappily an unequal ſtruggle, between the bounties of Providence to renovate, and the wickedneſs of mankind to deſtroy.

The right honourable gentleman* talks of his fairneſs in determining the territorial diſpute between the nabob of Arcot and the prince of that country, when he ſuperſeded the determination of the directors, in whom the law had veſted the deciſion of that controverſy. He is in this juſt as feeble as he is in every other part. But it is not neceſſary to ſay a word in refutation of any part of his argument. The mode of the proceeding ſufficiently ſpeaks the ſpirit of it. It is enough to

* Mr. Dundas.

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fix his character as a judge that he *never heard the directors in defence of their adjudication, nor either of the parties in support of their respective claims.* It is sufficient for me, that he takes from the rajah of Tanjore by this pretended adjudication, or rather from his unhappy subjects, 40,000*l.* a year of his and their revenue, and leaves upon his and their shoulders all the charges that can be made on the part of the nabob, on the part of his creditors, and on the part of the company, without so much as hearing him as to right or to ability. But what principally induces me to leave the affair of the territorial dispute between the nabob and the rajah to another day, is this, that both the parties being stripped of their all, it little signifies under which of their names the unhappy undone people are delivered over to the mercileſs ſoucars, the allies of that right honourable gentleman, and the chancellor of the exchequer. In them ends the account of this long diſpute of the nabob of Arcot, and the rajah of Tanjore.

The right honourable gentleman is of opinion, that his judgment in this caſe can be cenſured by none, but thoſe who ſeem to act as if they were paid agents to one of the parties. What does he think of his court of directors? If they are paid by either of the parties, by which of them does he think they are paid? He knows that their deciſion has been directly contrary to his. Shall I believe

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lieve that it does not enter into his heart to conceive, that any perſon can ſteadily and actively intereſt himſelf in the protection of the injured and oppreſſed, without being well paid for his ſervice? I have taken notice of this ſort of diſcourſe ſome days ago, ſo far as it may be ſuppoſed to relate to me. I then contented myſelf, as I ſhall now do, with giving it a cold, though a very direct contradiction. Thus much I do from reſpect to truth. If I did more, it might be ſuppoſed, by my anxiety to clear myſelf, that I had imbibed the ideas, which, for obvious reaſons, the right honourable gentleman wiſhes to have received concerning all attempts to plead the cauſe of the natives of India, as if it were a diſreputable employment. If he had not forgot in his preſent occupation, every principle which ought to have guided him, and I hope did guide him, in his late profeſſion, he would have known, that he who takes a fee for pleading the cauſe of diſtreſs againſt power, and manfully performs the duty he has aſſumed, receives an honourable recompence for a virtuous ſervice. But if the right honourable gentlemen will have no regard to fact in his inſinuations, or to reaſon in his opinions, I wiſh him at leaſt to conſider, that if taking an earneſt part with regard to the oppreſſions exerciſed in India, and with regard to this moſt oppreſſive caſe of Tanjore in particular, can ground a

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preſumption of intereſted motives, he is himſelf the moſt mercenary man I know. His conduct indeed is ſuch that he is on all occaſions the ſtanding teſtimony againſt himſelf. He it was that firſt called to that caſe the attention of the houſe: the reports of his own committee are ample and affecting upon that ſubject;* and as many of us as have eſcaped his maſſacre, muſt remember the very pathetick picture he made of the ſufferings of the Tanjore country, on the day when he moved the unwieldy code of his Indian reſolutions. Has he not ſtated over and over again in his reports, the ill treatment of the rajah of Tanjore, (a branch of the royal houſe of the Marattas, every injury to whom the Marattas felt as offered to themſelves) as a main cauſe of the alienation of that people from the Britiſh power? And does he now think, that to betray his principles, to contradict his declarations, and to become himſelf an active inſtrument in thoſe oppreſſions which he had ſo tragically lamented, is the way to clear himſelf of having been actuated by a pecuniary intereſt, at the time when he choſe to appear full of tenderneſs to that ruined nation?

The right honourable gentleman is fond of parading on the motives of others, and on his own.

* See Report IV. Committee of Secrecy, p. 73, and 74; and Appendix in ſundry places.

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As to himſelf, he deſpiſes the imputations of thoſe who ſuppoſe that any thing corrupt could influence him in this his unexampled liberality of the publick treaſure. I do not know that I am obliged to ſpeak to the motives of miniſtry, in the arrangements they have made of the pretended debts of Arcot and Tanjore. If I prove fraud and colluſion with regard to publick money on thoſe right honourable gentlemen, I am not obliged to aſſign their motives; becauſe no good motives can be pleaded in favour of their conduct. Upon that caſe I ſtand; we are at iſſue; and I deſire to go to trial. This, I am ſure, is not looſe railing, or mean inſinuation, according to their low and degenerate faſhion, when they make attacks on the meaſures of their adverſaries. It is a regular and juridical courſe; and, unleſs I chooſe it, nothing can compel me to go further.

But ſince theſe unhappy gentlemen have dared to hold a lofty tone about their motives, and affect to deſpiſe ſuſpicion, inſtead of being careful not to give cauſe for it, I ſhall beg leave to lay before you ſome general obſervations on what, I conceive, was their duty in ſo delicate a buſineſs.

If I were worthy to ſuggeſt any line of prudence to that right honourable gentleman, I would tell him, that the way to avoid ſuſpicion in the ſettlement of pecuniary tranſactions, in which great frauds have been very ſtrongly preſumed, is,

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is, to attend to these few plain principles:—First, to hear all parties equally, and not the managers for the suspected claimants only.—Not to proceed in the dark; but to act with as much publicity as possible.—Not to precipitate decision—To be religious in following the rules prescribed in the commission under which we act. And, lastly, and above all, not to be fond of straining constructions, to force a jurisdiction, and to draw to ourselves the management of a trust in its nature invidious and obnoxious to suspicion, where the plainest letter of the law does not compel it. If these few plain rules are observed, no corruption ought to be suspected; if any of them are violated, suspicion will attach in proportion. If all of them are violated, a corrupt motive of some kind or other will not only be suspected, but must be violently presumed.

The persons in whose favour all these rules have been violated, and the conduct of ministers towards them, will naturally call for your consideration, and will serve to lead you through a series and combination of facts and characters, if I do not mistake, into the very inmost recesses of this mysterious business. You will then be in possession of all the materials on which the principles of sound jurisprudence will found, or will reject the presumption of corrupt motives; or if such motives are indicated, will point out to you of what particular nature the corruption is.

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Our wonderful miniſter, as you all know, formed a new plan, a plan *inſigne recens indictum ore alio*, a plan for ſupporting the freedom of our conſtitution by court intrigues, and for removing its corruptions by Indian delinquency. To carry that bold paradoxical deſign into execution, ſufficient funds and apt inſtruments became neceſſary. You are perfectly ſenſible that a parliamentary reform occupies his thoughts day and night, as an eſſential member in this extraordinary project. In his anxious reſearches upon this ſubject, natural inſtinct, as well as ſound policy, would direct his eyes, and ſettle his choice on Paul Benfield. Paul Benfield is the grand parliamentary reformer, the reformer to whom the whole choir of reformers bow, and to whom even the right honourable gentleman himſelf muſt yield the palm: For what region in the empire, what city, what borough, what county, what tribunal, in this kingdom, is not full of his labours? Others have been only ſpeculators; he is the grand practical reformer; and whilſt the chancellor of the exchequer pledges in vain the man and the miniſter, to increaſe the provincial members, Mr. Benfield has auſpiciouſly and practically begun it. Leaving far behind him even lord Camelford's generous deſign of beſtowing Old Sarum on the bank of England, Mr. Benfield has thrown in the borough of Cricklade to reinforce the county repreſentation. Not content with this, in order to ſtation a ſteady phalanx for

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all future reforms, this publick-ſpirited uſurer, amidſt his charitable toils for the relief of India, did not forget the poor rotten conſtitution of his native country. For her, he did not diſdain to ſtoop to the trade of a wholeſale upholſterer for this houſe, to furniſh it, not with the faded tapeſtry figures of antiquated merit, ſuch as decorate, and may reproach ſome other houſes, but with real, ſolid, living patterns of true modern virtue. Paul Benfield made (reckoning himſelf) no fewer than eight members in the laſt parliament. What copious ſtreams of pure blood muſt he not have transfuſed into the veins of the preſent!

But what is even more ſtriking than the real ſervices of this new-imported patriot, is his modeſty. As ſoon as he had conferred this benefit on the conſtitution, he withdrew himſelf from our applauſe. He conceived that the duties of a member of parliament (which with the elect faithful, the true believers, the *Iſlam* of parliamentary reform, are of little or no merit, perhaps not much better than ſpecious ſins) might be as well attended to in India as in England, and the means of reformation to parliament itſelf, be far better provided. Mr. Benfield was therefore no ſooner elected, than he ſet off for Madras, and defrauded the longing eyes of parliament. We have never enjoyed in this houſe the luxury of beholding that minion of the human race, and contemplating that

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that viſage, which has ſo long reflected the happineſs of nations.

It was therefore not poſſible for the miniſter to conſult perſonally with this great man. What then was he to do? Through a ſagacity that never failed him in theſe purſuits, he found out in Mr. Benfield's repreſentative, his exact reſemblance. A ſpecifick attraction by which he gravitates towards all ſuch characters, ſoon brought our miniſter into a cloſe connection with Mr. Benfield's agent and attorney; that is, with the grand contractor (whom I name to honour) Mr. Richard Atkinſon; a name that will be well remembered as long as the records of this houſe, as long as the records of the Britiſh treaſury, as long as the monumental debt of England ſhall endure.

This gentleman, Sir, acts as attorney for Mr. Paul Benfield. Every one who hears me, is well acquainted with the ſacred friendſhip, and the ſteady mutual attachment that ſubſiſts between him and the preſent miniſter. As many members as choſe to attend in the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, can beſt tell their own feelings at the ſcenes which were then acted. How much that honourable gentleman was conſulted in the original frame and fabrick of the bill, commonly called Mr. Pitt's India bill, is matter only of conjecture; though by no means difficult to divine. But the publick was an indignant witneſs of the oſtentation

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tion with which the meaſure was made his own, and the authority with which he brought up clauſe after clauſe, to ſtuff and fatten the rankneſs of that corrupt act. As faſt as the clauſes were brought up to the table they were accepted. No heſitation; no diſcuſſion. They were received by the new miniſter, not with approbation, but with implicit ſubmiſſion. The reformation may be eſtimated by ſeeing who was the reformer. Paul Benfield's aſſociate and agent was held up to the world as legiſlator of Indoſtan. But it was neceſſary to authenticate the coalition between the men of intrigue in India, and the miniſter of intrigue in England, by a ſtudied diſplay of the power of this their connecting link. Every truſt, every honour, every diſtinction, was to be heaped upon him. He was at once made a director of the India company; made an alderman of London; and to be made, if miniſtry could prevail (and I am ſorry to ſay how near, how very near they were prevailing), repreſentative of the capital of this kingdom. But to ſecure his ſervices againſt all riſk, he was brought in for a miniſterial borough. On his part, he was not wanting in zeal for the common cauſe. His advertiſements ſhew his motives, and the merits upon which he ſtood. For your miniſter, this worn-out veteran ſubmitted to enter into the duſty field of the London conteſt; and you all remember, that in the ſame virtuous cauſe

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he ſubmitted to keep a ſort of publick office or counting-houſe, where the whole buſineſs of the laſt general election was managed. It was openly managed by the direct agent and attorney of Benfield. It was managed upon India principles, and for an Indian intereſt. This was the golden cup of abominations; this the chalice of the fornications of rapine, uſury, and oppreſſion, which was held out by the gorgeous eaſtern harlot; which ſo many of the people, ſo many of the nobles of this land had drained to the very dregs. Do you think that no reckoning was to follow this lewd debauch? that no payment was to be demanded for this riot of publick drunkenneſs and national proſtitution? Here! you have it here before you. The principal of the grand election manager muſt be indemnified; accordingly the claims of Benfield and his crew muſt be put above all inquiry.

For ſeveral years, Benfield appeared as the chief proprietor, as well as the chief agent, director, and controller, of this ſyſtem of debt. The worthy chairman of the company has ſtated the claims of this ſingle gentleman on the nabob of Arcot, as amounting to five hundred thouſand pound.* Poſſibly at the time of the chairman's ſtate they might have been as high. Eight hundred thouſand pound had been mentioned ſome time be-

* Mr. Smith's proteſt.

fore;

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fore;* and according to the practice of ſhifting the names of creditors in theſe tranſactions, and reducing or raiſing the debt itſelf at pleaſure, I think it not impoſſible, that at one period, the name of Benfield might have ſtood before thoſe frightful figures. But my beſt information goes to fix his ſhare no higher than four hundred thouſand pounds. By the ſcheme of the preſent miniſtry for adding to the principal twelve *per cent.* from the year 1777 to the year 1781, four hundred thouſand pounds, that ſmalleſt of the ſums ever mentioned for Mr. Benfield, will form a capital of 592,000*l.* at ſix *per cent.* Thus, beſides the arrears of three years, amounting to 106,500*l.* (which, as faſt as received, may be legally lent out at twelve *per cent.*) Benfield has received by the miniſterial grant before you, an annuity of 35,520*l.* a year, charged on the publick revenues.

Our mirror of miniſters of finance, did not think this enough for the ſervices of ſuch a friend as Benfield. He found that lord Macartney, in order to frighten the court of directors from the project of obliging the nabob to give ſoucar ſecurity for his debt, aſſured them, that if they ſhould take that ſtep, Benfield† would infallibly be the ſoucar; and would thereby become the

* Madras correſpondence on this ſubject.

† Appendix, No. 6.

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entire maſter of the Carnatick. What lord Macartney thought ſufficient to deter the very agents and partakers with Benfield in his iniquities, was the inducement to the two right honourable gentlemen to order this very ſoucar ſecurity to be given, and to recal Benfield to the city of Madras, from the ſort of decent exile, into which he had been relegated by lord Macartney. You muſt therefore conſider Benfield, as ſoucar ſecurity for 480,000*l.* a year, which at twenty-four *per cent.* (ſuppoſing him contented with that profit) will, with the intereſt of his old debt, produce an annual income of 149,520*l.* a year.

Here is a ſpecimen of the new and pure ariſtocracy created by the right honourable gentleman,* as the ſupport of the crown and conſtitution, againſt the old, corrupt, refractory, natural intereſts of this kingdom; and this is the grand counterpoiſe againſt all odious coalitions of theſe intereſts. A ſingle Benfield outweighs them all; a criminal, who long ſince ought to have fattened the region kites with his offal, is, by his majeſty's miniſters, enthroned in the government of a great kingdom, and enfeoffed with an eſtate, which in the compariſon effaces the ſplendour of all the nobility of Europe. To bring a little more diſtinctly into view the true ſecret of this dark tranſaction,

* Right honourable William Pitt.

I beg

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I beg you particularly to advert to the circumſtances which I am going to place before you.

The general corps of creditors, as well as Mr. Benfield himſelf, not looking well into futurity, nor preſaging the miniſter of this day, thought it not expedient for their common intereſt, that ſuch a name as his ſhould ſtand at the head of their liſt. It was therefore agreed amongſt them, that Mr. Benfield ſhould diſappear by making over his debt to Meſſrs. Taylor, Majendie, and Call, and ſhould in return be ſecured by their bond.

The debt thus exonerated of ſo great a weight of its odium, and otherwiſe reduced from its alarming bulk, the agents thought they might venture to print a liſt of the creditors. This was done for the firſt time in the year 1783, during the duke of Portland's adminiſtration. In this liſt the name of Benfield was not to be ſeen. To this ſtrong negative teſtimony was added the further teſtimony of the nabob of Arcot. That prince * (or rather Mr. Benfield for him) writes to the court of directors a letter † full of complaints and accuſations againſt lord Macartney,

* Appendix, No. 10.

† Dated 13th October. For further illuſtration of the ſtyle in which theſe letters were written, and the principles on which they proceed, ſee letters from the nabob to the court of directors, dated Auguſt 16th, and September 7th, 1783, delivered by Mr. James Macpherſon, miniſter to the nabob, January 14th, 1784. Appendix, No. 10.

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conveyed in such terms as were natural for one of Mr. Benfield's habits and education to employ. Amongst the rest he is made to complain of his lordship's endeavouring to prevent an intercourse of politeness and sentiment between him and Mr. Benfield; and to aggravate the affront, he expressly declares Mr. Benfield's visits to be only on account of respect and of gratitude, as no pecuniary transaction subsisted between them.

Such, for a considerable space of time, was the outward form of the loan of 1777, in which Mr. Benfield had no sort of concern. At length intelligence arrived at Madras, that this debt, which had always been renounced by the court of directors, was rather like to become the subject of something more like a criminal inquiry, than of any patronage or sanction from parliament. Every ship brought accounts, one stronger than the other, of the prevalence of the determined enemies of the Indian system. The publick revenues became an object desperate to the hopes of Mr. Benfield; he therefore resolved to fall upon his associates, and, in violation of that faith which subsists among those who have abandoned all other, commences a suit in the mayor's court against Taylor, Majendie, and Call, for the bond given to him, when he agreed to disappear for his own benefit as well as that of the common concern. The assignees of his debt, who little expected the springing of this mine,

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even from such an engineer as Mr. Benfield, after recovering their first alarm, thought it best to take ground on the real state of the transaction. They divulged the whole mystery, and were prepared to plead that they had never received from Mr. Benfield any other consideration for the bond, than a transfer, in trust for himself, of his demand on the nabob of Arcot. An universal indignation arose against the perfidy of Mr. Benfield's proceeding: the event of the suit was looked upon as so certain, that Benfield was compelled to retreat as precipitately as he had advanced boldly; he gave up his bond, and was reinstated in his original demand, to wait the fortune of other claimants. At that time, and at Madras, this hope was dull indeed; but at home another scene was preparing.

It was long before any publick account of this discovery at Madras had arrived in England, that the present minister and his board of control, thought fit to determine on the debt of 1777. The recorded proceedings at this time knew nothing of any debt to Benfield. There was his own testimony; there was the testimony of the list; there was the testimony of the nabob of Arcot against it. Yet such was the ministers' feeling of the true secret of this transaction, that they thought proper, in the teeth of all these testimonies, to give him licence to return to Madras. Here the ministers were under some embarrass-

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ment. Confounded between their reſolution of rewarding the good ſervices of Benfield's friends and aſſociates in England, and the ſhame of ſending that notorious incendiary to the court of the nabob of Arcot, to renew his intrigues againſt the Britiſh government, at the time they authorize his return, they forbid him under the ſevereſt penalties, from any converſation with the nabob or his miniſters; that is, they forbid his communication with the very perſon on account of his dealings with whom they permit his return to that city. To overtop this contradiction, there is not a word reſtraining him from the freeſt intercourſe with the nabob's ſecond ſon, the real author of all that is done in the nabob's name; who, in conjunction with this very Benfield, has acquired an abſolute dominion over that unhappy man, is able to perſuade him to put his ſignature to whatever paper they pleaſe, and often without any communication of the contents. This management was detailed to them at full length by lord Macartney, and they cannot pretend ignorance of it.*

I believe, after this expoſure of facts, no man can entertain a doubt of the colluſion of miniſters with the corrupt intereſt of the delinquents in India. Whenever thoſe in authority provide for the intereſt of any perſon, on the real but concealed

* Appendix, No. 6.

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ſtate of his affairs, without regard to his avowed, publick, and oſtenſible pretences, it muſt be preſumed that they are in confederacy with him, becauſe they act for him on the ſame fraudulent principles on which he acts for himſelf. It is plain, that the miniſters were fully appriſed of Benfield's real ſituation, which he had uſed means to conceal, whilſt concealment anſwered his purpoſes. They were, or the perſon on whom they relied was, of the cabinet council of Benfield, in the very depth of all his myſteries. An honeſt magiſtrate compels men to abide by one ſtory. An equitable judge would not hear of the claim of a man who had himſelf thought proper to renounce it. With ſuch a judge his ſhuffling and prevarication would have damned his claims; ſuch a judge never would have known, but in order to animadvert upon proceedings of that character.

I have thus laid before you, Mr. Speaker, I think with ſufficient clearneſs, the connection of the miniſters with Mr. Atkinſon at the general election; I have laid open to you the connection of Atkinſon with Benfield; I have ſhewn Benfield's employment of his wealth, in creating a parliamentary intereſt, to procure a miniſterial protection; I have ſet before your eyes his large concern in the debt, his practices to hide that concern from the publick eye, and the liberal protection which he has received from the miniſter. If this

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this chain of circumſtances does not lead you neceſſarily to conclude that the miniſter has paid to the avarice of Benfield the ſervices done by Benfield's connections to his ambition, I do not know any thing ſhort of the confeſſion of the party that can perſuade you of his guilt. Clandeſtine and colluſive practice can only be traced by combination and compariſon of circumſtances. To reject ſuch combination and compariſon is to reject the only means of detecting fraud; it is indeed to give it a patent and free licence to cheat with impunity.

I confine myſelf to the connection of miniſters, mediately or immediately, with only two perſons concerned in this debt. How many others, who ſupport their power and greatneſs within and without doors, are concerned originally, or by tranſfers of theſe debts, muſt be left to general opinion. I refer to the reports of the ſelect committee for the proceedings of ſome of the agents in theſe affairs, and their attempts, at leaſt, to furniſh miniſters with the means of buying general courts, and even whole parliaments, in the groſs*.

I know that the miniſters will think it little leſs than acquittal, that they are not charged with having taken to themſelves ſome part of the money of which they have made ſo liberal a donation to their partiſans, though the charge may be indiſputably fixed upon the corruption of their po-

* Second Report of Select (General Smith's) Committee.

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liticks. For my part, I follow their crimes to that point to which legal preſumptions and natural indications lead me, without conſidering what ſpecies of evil motive tends moſt to aggravate or to extenuate the guilt of their conduct. But if I am to ſpeak my private ſentiments, I think that in a thouſand caſes for one it would be far leſs miſchievous to the publick, and full as little diſhonourable to themſelves to be polluted with direct bribery, than thus to become a ſtanding auxiliary to the oppreſſion, uſury, and peculation of multitudes, in order to obtain a corrupt ſupport to their power. It is by bribing, not ſo often by being bribed, that wicked politicians bring ruin on mankind. Avarice is a rival to the purſuits of many. It finds a multitude of checks, and many oppoſers, in every walk of life. But the objects of ambition are for the few; and every perſon who aims at indirect profit, and therefore wants other protection than innocence and law, inſtead of its rival becomes its inſtrument. There is a natural allegiance and fealty due to this domineering paramount evil, from all the vaſſal vices, which acknowledge its ſuperiority, and readily militate under its banners; and it is under that diſcipline alone that avarice is able to ſpread to any conſiderable extent, or to render itſelf a general publick miſchief. It is therefore no apology for miniſters, that they have not been bought by the

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Eaſt India delinquents, but that they have only formed an alliance with them for ſcreening each other from juſtice, according to the exigence of their ſeveral neceſſities. That they have done ſo is evident; and the junction of the power of office in England, with the abuſe of authority in the eaſt, has not only prevented even the appearance of redreſs to the grievances of India, but I wiſh it may not be found to have dulled, if not extinguiſhed, the honour, the candour, the generoſity, the good nature, which uſed formerly to characterize the people of England. I confeſs, I wiſh that ſome more feeling than I have yet obſerved for the ſufferings of our fellow-creatures and fellow-ſubjects in that oppreſſed part of the world, had manifeſted itſelf in any one quarter of the kingdom, or in any one large deſcription of men.

That theſe oppreſſions exiſt, is a fact no more denied, than it is reſented as it ought to be. Much evil has been done in India under the Britiſh authority. What has been done to redreſs it? We are no longer ſurpriſed at any thing. We are above the unlearned and vulgar paſſion of admiration. But it will aſtoniſh poſterity, when they read our opinions in our actions, that after years of inquiry we have found out that the ſole grievance of India conſiſted in this, that the ſervants of the company there had not profited enough of their opportunities, nor drained it ſufficiently of its

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its treaſures; when they ſhall hear that the very firſt and only important act of a commiſſion ſpecially named by act of parliament, is to charge upon an undone country, in favour of a handful of men in the humbleſt ranks of the publick ſervice, the enormous ſum of perhaps four millions of ſterling money.

It is difficult for the moſt wiſe and upright government to correct the abuſes of remote delegated power, productive of unmeaſured wealth, and protected by the boldneſs and ſtrength of the ſame ill-got riches. Theſe abuſes, full of their own wild native vigour, will grow and flouriſh under mere neglect. But where the ſupreme authority, not content with winking at the rapacity of its inferiour inſtruments, is ſo ſhameleſs and corrupt as openly to give bounties and premiums for diſobedience to its laws; when it will not truſt to the activity of avarice in the purſuit of its own gains; when it ſecures publick robbery by all the careful jealouſy and attention with which it ought to protect property from ſuch violence; the commonwealth then is become totally perverted from its purpoſes; neither God nor man will long endure it; nor will it long endure itſelf. In that caſe, there is an unnatural infection, a peſtilential taint fermenting in the conſtitution of ſociety, which fever and convulſions of ſome kind or other muſt throw off; or in which the vital powers, worſted in

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in an unequal ſtruggle, are puſhed back upon themſelves, and by a reverſal of their whole functions, feſter to gangrene, to death; and inſtead of what was but juſt now the delight and boaſt of the creation, there will be caſt out in the face of the ſun, a bloated, putrid, noiſome carcaſs, full of ſtench and poiſon, an offence, a horrour, a leſſon to the world.

In my opinion, we ought not to wait for the fruitleſs inſtruction of calamity to inquire into the abuſes which bring upon us ruin in the worſt of its forms, in the loſs of our fame and virtue. But the right honourable gentleman* ſays, in anſwer to all the powerful arguments of my honourable friend—"that this inquiry is of a delicate nature; "and that the ſtate will ſuffer detriment by the "expoſure of this tranſaction." But it is expoſed; it is perfectly known in every member, in every particle, and in every way, except that which may lead to a remedy. He knows that the papers of correſpondence are printed, and that they are in every hand.

He and delicacy are a rare and a ſingular coaliſtion. He thinks that to divulge our Indian politicks, may be highly dangerous. He! the mover! the chairman! the reporter of the committee of ſecrecy! he that brought forth in the utmoſt detail, in ſeveral vaſt, printed folios, the moſt recon-

* Mr. Dundas.

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dite parts of the politicks, the military, the revenues of the Britiſh empire in India! With ſix great chopping baſtards,* each as luſty as an infant Hercules, this delicate creature bluſhes at the ſight of his new bridegroom, aſſumes a virgin delicacy; or, to uſe a more fit, as well as a more poetick compariſon, the perſon ſo ſqueamiſh, ſo timid, ſo trembling leſt the winds of heaven ſhould viſit too roughly, is expanded to broad ſunſhine, expoſed like the ſow of imperial augury, lying in the mud with all the prodigies of her fertility about her, as evidence of her delicate amours—*Triginta capitum fœtus enixa jacebat, alba ſolo recubans albi circum ubera nati.*

Whilſt diſcovery of the miſgovernment of others led to his own power, it was wiſe to inquire; it was ſafe to publiſh: there was then no delicacy; there was then no danger. But when his object is obtained, and in his imitation he has outdone the crimes that he had reprobated in volumes of reports, and in ſheets of bills of pains and penalties; then concealment becomes prudence; and it concerns the ſafety of the ſtate, that we ſhould not know, in a mode of parliamentary cognizance, what all the world knows but too well, that is, in what manner he chooſes to diſpoſe of the publick revenues to the creatures of his politicks.

* Six Reports of the Committee of Secrecy.

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The debate has been long, and as much ſo on my part, at leaſt, as on the part of thoſe who have ſpoken before me. But long as it is, the more material half of the ſubject has hardly been touched on; that is, the corrupt and deſtructive ſyſtem to which this debt has been rendered ſubſervient, and which ſeems to be purſued with at leaſt as much vigour and regularity as ever. If I conſidered your eaſe or my own, rather than the weight and importance of this queſtion, I ought to make ſome apology to you, perhaps ſome apology to myſelf, for having detained your attention ſo long. I know on what ground I tread. This ſubject, at one time taken up with ſo much fervour and zeal, is no longer a favourite in this houſe. The houſe itſelf has undergone a great and ſignal revolution. To ſome the ſubject is ſtrange and uncouth; to ſeveral harſh and diſtaſteful; to the reliques of the laſt parliament it is a matter of fear and apprehenſion. It is natural for thoſe who have ſeen their friends ſink in the tornado which raged during the late ſhift of the monſoon, and have hardly eſcaped on the planks of the general wreck, it is but too natural for them, as ſoon as they make the rocks and quickſands of their former diſaſters, to put about their new-built barks, and, as much as poſſible, to keep aloof from this perilous lee ſhore.

But let us do what we pleaſe to put India from our thoughts, we can do nothing to ſeparate it from

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from our publick intereſt and our national reputation. Our attempts to baniſh this importunate duty, will only make it return upon us again and again, and every time in a ſhape more unpleaſant than the former. A government has been fabricated for that great province; the right honourable gentleman ſays, that therefore you ought not to examine into its conduct. Heavens! what an argument is this! We are not to examine into the conduct of the direction, becauſe it is an old government: we are not to examine into this board of control, becauſe it is a new one. Then we are only to examine into the conduct of thoſe who have no conduct to account for. Unfortunately the baſis of this new government has been laid on old condemned delinquents, and its ſuperſtructure is raiſed out of proſecutors turned into protectors. The event has been ſuch as might be expected. But if it had been otherwiſe conſtituted; had it been conſtituted even as I wiſhed, and as the mover of this queſtion had planned, the better part of the propoſed eſtabliſhment was in the publicity of its proceedings; in its perpetual reſponſibility to parliament. Without this check, what is our government at home, even awed, as every European government is, by an audience formed of the other ſtates of Europe, by the applauſe or condemnation of the diſcerning and critical company before which it acts? But if the ſcene on the other ſide of

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the globe, which tempts, invites, almoſt compels to tyranny and rapine, be not inſpected with the eye of a ſevere and unremitting vigilance, ſhame and deſtruction muſt enſue. For one, the worſt event of this day, though it may deject, ſhall not break or ſubdue me. The call upon us is authoritative. Let who will ſhrink back, I ſhall be found at my poſt. Baffled, diſcountenanced, ſubdued, diſcredited, as the cauſe of juſtice and humanity is, it will be only the dearer to me. Whoever therefore ſhall at any time bring before you any thing towards the relief of our diſtreſſed fellow-citizens in India, and towards a ſubverſion of the preſent moſt corrupt and oppreſſive ſyſtem for its government, in me ſhall find, a weak, I am afraid, but a ſteady, earneſt, and faithful aſſiſtant.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

CLAUSES OF MR. PITT'S BILL.

Referred to from p. 202.

Appointing Commiſſioners to inquire into the fees, gratuities, perquiſites, emoluments, which are, or have been lately, received in the ſeveral publick offices therein mentioned; to examine into any abuſes which may exiſt in the ſame, &c.

AND be it further enacted, that it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the ſaid commiſſioners, or any two of them, and they are hereby impowered, authorized, and required, *to examine upon oath* (which oath they, or any two of them, are hereby authorized to adminiſter) the ſeveral perſons, of *all* deſcriptions, belonging to any of the offices or departments before mentioned, and *all other perſons* whom the ſaid commiſſioners, or any two of them, ſhall think fit to examine, touching *the buſineſs* of each office or department,

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and *the fees, gratuities, perquiſites, and emoluments taken therein*, and touching all other matters and things neceſſary for the execution of the powers veſted in the ſaid commiſſioners by this act; *all which perſons* are hereby required and directed punctually to attend the ſaid commiſſioners, *at ſuch time and place as they, or any two of them, ſhall appoint, and alſo to obſerve and execute ſuch orders and directions* as the ſaid commiſſioners, or any two of them, ſhall make or give for the purpoſes before mentioned.

And be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the ſaid commiſſioners, or any two of them, ſhall be, and are hereby impowered to examine into any corrupt and fraudulent practices, or other miſconduct, committed by any perſon or perſons concerned in the management of any of the offices or departments hereinbefore mentioned: and, for the better execution of this preſent act, the ſaid commiſſioners, or *any two of them, are hereby authorized to meet and ſit, from time to time, in ſuch place or places as they ſhall find moſt convenient, with or without adjournment, and to ſend their precept or precepts, under their hands and ſeals, for any perſon or perſons whatſoever, and for ſuch books, papers, writings, or records, as they ſhall judge neceſſary for their information, relating to any of the offices or departments hereinbefore mentioned*; *and all bailiffs, conſtable, ſheriffs, and other his majeſty's officers, are hereby*

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hereby required to obey and execute ſuch orders and precepts aforeſaid, as ſhall be ſent to them or any of them by the ſaid commiſſioners, or any two of them, touching the premiſes.

APPENDIX, No. 2.

Referred to from p. 208.

NABOB OF ARCOT'S DEBTS.

MR. GEORGE SMITH being aſked, Whether the debts of the nabob of Arcot have increaſed ſince he knew Madras? he ſaid, Yes, they have. He diſtinguiſhes his debts into two ſorts; thoſe contracted before the year 1766, and thoſe contracted from that year to the year in which he left Madras.—Being aſked, What he thinks is the original amount of the old debts? he ſaid, Between twenty-three and twenty-four lacks of pagodas, as well as he can recollect.—Being aſked, What was the amount of that debt when he left Madras? he ſaid, Between four and five lacks of pagodas, as he underſtood.——Being aſked, What was the amount of the new debt when he left Madras? he ſaid, In November, 1777, that debt amounted, according to the nabob's own account, and pub-

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lished at Chipauk, his place of residence, to sixty lacks of pagodas, independent of the old debt, on which debt of sixty lacks of pagodas, the nabob did agree to pay an interest of twelve per cent. per annum.—Being asked, Whether this debt was approved of by the court of directors? he said, He does not know it was.—Being asked, Whether the old debt was recognised by the court of directors? he said, Yes, it has been; and the court of directors have sent out repeated orders to the president and council of Madras, to enforce its recovery and payment.—Being asked, If the interest upon the new debt is punctually paid? he said, It was not during his residence at Madras, from 1777 to 1779, in which period he thinks no more than five per cent. interest was paid, in different dividends of two and one per cent.—Being asked, What is the usual course taken by the nabob, concerning the arrears of interest? he said, Not having ever lent him monies himself, he cannot fully answer as to the mode of settling the interest with him.

Being asked, Whether he has reason to believe the sixty lacks of pagodas was all principal money really and truly advanced to the nabob of Arcot, or a fictitious capital, made up of obligations given by him, where no money or goods were received, or which was increased by the uniting into it a greater interest than the 12 per cent. expressed to be

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be due on the capital? he ſaid, He has no reaſon to believe that the ſum of ſixty lacks of pagodas was lent in money or goods to the nabob, becauſe that ſum he thinks is of more value than all the money, goods, and chattels in the ſettlement; but he does not know in what mode or manner this debt of the nabob's was incurred or accumulated. Being aſked, Whether it was not a general and well-grounded opinion at Madras, that a great part of this ſum was accumulated by obligations, and was for ſervices performed or to be performed for the nabob? he ſaid, He has heard that a part of this debt was given for the purpoſes mentioned in the above queſtion, but he does not know that it was ſo.—Being aſked, Whether it was the general opinion of the ſettlement? he ſaid, He cannot ſay that it was the general opinion, but it was the opinion of a conſiderable part of the ſettlement. Being aſked, Whether it was the declared opinion of thoſe that were concerned in the debt, or thoſe that were not? he ſaid, It was the opinion of both parties, at leaſt ſuch of them as he converſed with.—Being aſked, Whether he has reaſon to believe that the intereſt really paid by the nabob, upon obligations given, or money lent, did not frequently exceed 12 per cent.?—he ſaid, Prior to the firſt of Auguſt 1774, he had had reaſon to believe, that a higher intereſt than 12 per cent. was paid by the nabob on monies lent to him;

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but from and after that period, when the laſt act of parliament took place in India, he does not know that more than 12 per cent. had been paid by the nabob, or received from him.—Being aſked, Whether it is not his opinion, that the nabob has paid more than 12 per cent. for money due ſince the 1ſt of Auguſt 1774? he ſaid, He has heard that he has, but he does not know it.—Being aſked, Whether he has been told ſo by any conſiderable and weighty authority, that was like to know? he ſaid, He has been ſo informed by perſons who he believes had a very good opportunity of knowing it.—Being aſked, Whether he was ever told ſo by the nabob of Arcot himſelf? he ſaid, He does not recollect that the nabob of Arcot directly told him ſo, but from what he ſaid, he did infer that he paid a higher intereſt than 12 per cent.

Mr. Smith being aſked, Whether, in the courſe of trade, he ever ſold any thing to the nabob of Arcot? he ſaid, In the year 1775 he did ſell to the nabob of Arcot pearls to the amount of 32,500 pagodas, for which the nabob gave him an order or tankah on the country of Tanjore, payable in ſix months, without intereſt.—Being aſked, Whether, at the time he aſked the nabob his price for the pearls, the nabob beat down that price, as dealers commonly do? he ſaid, No; ſo far from it, he offered him more than he aſked by 1,000 pagodas,

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pagodas, and which he rejected. Being aſked, Whether in ſettling a tranſaction of diſcount with the nabob's agent, he was not offered a greater diſcount than 12l. per cent. he ſaid, In diſcounting a ſoucar's bill for 1,80,000 pagodas, the nabob's agent did offer him a diſcount of 24 per cent. per annum, ſaying, that it was the uſual rate of diſcount paid by the nabob; but which he would not accept of, thinking himſelf confined by the act of parliament limiting the intereſt of monies to 12 per cent. and accordingly he diſcounted the bill at 12 per cent. per annum only.—Being aſked, Whether he does not think thoſe offers were made him, becauſe the nabob thought he was a perſon of ſome conſequence in the ſettlement? he ſaid, Being only a private merchant, he apprehends that the offer was made to him more from its being a general practice, than from any opinion of his importance.

APPENDIX,

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APPENDIX, No. 3.

Referred to from p. 228.

A BILL for the better government of the territorial poſſeſſions and dependencies in India.

[*One of Mr. Fox's India bills.*]

AND be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the nabob of Arcot, the rajah of Tanjore, or any other native protected prince in India, ſhall not aſſign, mortgage, or pledge any territory or land whatſoever, or the produce or revenue thereof, to any Britiſh ſubject whatſoever; neither ſhall it be lawful to and for any Britiſh ſubject whatſoever to take or receive any ſuch aſſignment, mortgage, or pledge; and the ſame are hereby declared to be null and void; and all payments or deliveries of produce or revenue, under any ſuch aſſignment, ſhall and may be recovered back by ſuch native prince paying or delivering the ſame, from the perſon or perſons receiving the ſame, or his or their repreſentatives.

APPENDIX,

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APPENDIX, No. 4.

Referred to from p. 262 and p. 263.

(COPY.)

27th May, 1782.

LETTER from the Committee of assigned Revenue, to the President and Select Committee, dated 27th May, 1782; with comparative statement, and minute thereon.

To the Right Honourable Lord MACARTNEY, K.B. President, and Governour, &c. Select Committee of Fort St. George.

My Lord, and Gentlemen,

ALTHOUGH we have, in obedience to your commands of the 5th January, regularly laid before you our proceedings at large, and have occasionally addressed you upon such points as required your resolutions or orders for our guidance, we still think it necessary to collect and digest, in a summary report, those transactions in the management of the assigned revenue, which have principally engaged our attention, and which, upon the proceeding, are too much intermixed with

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with ordinary occurrences to be readily traced and underſtood.

Such a report may be formed with the greater propriety at this time, when your lordſhip, &c. have been pleaſed to conclude your arrangements for the rent of ſeveral of the nabob's diſtricts. Our aim in it is briefly to explain the ſtate of the Carnatick at the period of the nabob's aſſignment; the particular cauſes which exiſted, to the prejudice of that aſſignment, after it was made; and the meaſures which your lordſhip, &c. have, upon our recommendation, adopted for removing thoſe cauſes, and introducing a more regular and beneficial ſyſtem of management in the country.

Hyder Ally having entered the Carnatick with his whole force, about the middle of July, 1780, and employed fire and ſword in its deſtruction for near eighteen months before the nabob's aſſignment took place, it will not be difficult to conceive the ſtate of the country at that period. In thoſe provinces which were fully expoſed to the ravages of horſe, ſcarce a veſtige remained either of population or agriculture; ſuch of the miſerable inhabitants as eſcaped the fury of the ſword were either carried into the Myſore country, or left to ſtruggle under the horrours of famine. The Arcot and Trichinopoly diſtricts began early to feel the effects of this deſolating war. Tinnevelly, Madura, and Ramnadaporum, though little infeſted

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ed with Hyder's troops, became a prey to the incurſions of the Polygars, who ſtript them of the greateſt part of the revenues; Ongole, Nellore, and Palnaud, the only remaining diſtricts, had ſuffered but in a ſmall degree.

The misfortunes of war, however, were not the only evils which the Carnatick experienced. The nabob's aumildars, and other ſervants, appear to have taken advantage of the general confuſion to enrich themſelves. A very ſmall part of the revenue was accounted for; and ſo high were the ordinary expences of every diſtrict, that double the apparent produce of the whole country would not have ſatisfied them.

In this ſtate, which we believe is no way exaggerated, the company took charge of the aſſigned countries. Their proſpect of relief from the heavy burthens of the war, was indeed but little advanced by the nabob's conceſſion; and the revenues of the Carnatick ſeemed in danger of being irrecoverably loſt, unleſs a ſpeedy and entire change of ſyſtem could be adopted.

On our minutes of the 21ſt January, we treated the ſubject of the aſſignment at ſome length, and pointed out the miſchiefs which, in addition to the effects of the war, had ariſen from what we conceived to be wrong and oppreſſive management.—We uſed the freedom to ſuggeſt an entire alteration in the mode of realizing the revenues.

We

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We propoſed a conſiderable and immediate reduction of expences, and a total change of the principal aumildars who had been employed under the nabob.

Our ideas had the good fortune to receive your approbation; but the removal of the nabob's ſervants being thought improper at that particular period of the collections, we employed our attention chiefly in preſerving what revenue was left the country, and acquiring ſuch materials as might lead to a more perfect knowledge of its former and preſent ſtate.

Theſe purſuits, as we apprehended, met with great obſtructions from the conduct of the nabob's ſervants. The orders they received were evaded under various pretexts; no attention was paid to the ſtrong and repeated applications made to them for the accounts of their management; and their attachment to the company's intereſt appeared, in every inſtance, ſo feeble, that we ſaw no proſpect whatever of ſucceſs, but in the appointment of renters under the company's ſole authority.

Upon this principle we judged it expedient to recommend, that ſuch of the nabob's diſtricts as were in a ſtate to be farmed out, might be immediately let by a publick advertiſement, iſſued in the company's name, and circulated through every province of the Carnatick; and with the view

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view of encouraging bidders, we propoſed, that the countries might be adverrtied for the whole period of the nabob's aſſignment, and the ſecurity of the company's protection promiſed, in the fulleſt manner, to ſuch perſons as might become renters.

This plan had the deſired effect; and the attempts which were ſecretly made to counteract it, afforded an unequivocal proof of its neceſſity: but the advantages reſulting from it were more pleaſingly evinced, by the number of propoſals that were delivered, and by the terms which were in general offered for the diſtricts intended to be farmed out.

Having ſo far attained the purpoſes of the aſſignment, our attention was next turned to the heavy expences entailed upon the different provinces; and here, we confeſs, our aſtoniſhment was raiſed to the higheſt pitch. In the Trichinopoly country, the ſtanding diſburſements appeared, by the nabob's own accounts, to be one lack of rupees more than the receipts. In other diſtricts, the charges were not in ſo high a proportion, but ſtill rated on a moſt extravagant ſcale; and we ſaw, by every account that was brought before us, the abſolute neceſſity of retrenching conſiderably in all the articles of expence.

Our own reaſon, aided by ſuch inquiries as we were able to make, ſuggeſted the alterations we have

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have recommended to your lordſhip, &c. under this head. You will obſerve, that we have not acted ſparingly; but we choſe rather, in caſes of doubt, to incur the hazard of retrenching too much, than too little; becauſe it would be eaſier, after any ſtated allowance for expences, to add what might be neceſſary, than to diminiſh. We hope, however, there will be no material increaſe in the articles as they now ſtand.

One conſiderable charge upon the nabob's country was for extraordinary ſibbendies, ſepoys, and horſemen, who appeared to us to be a very unneceſſary incumbrance on the revenue. Your lordſhip, &c. have determined to receive ſuch of theſe people as will inliſt into the company's ſervice, and diſcharge the reſt. This meaſure will not only relieve the country of a heavy burthen, but tend greatly to fix in the company that kind of authority, which is requiſite for the due collection of the revenues.

In conſequence of your determination reſpecting the nabob's ſepoys, &c. every charge under that head has been ſtruck out of our account of expences. If the whole number of theſe people be enliſted by the company, there will probably be no more than ſufficient to complete their ordinary military eſtabliſhment. But ſhould the preſent reduction of the nabob's artillery render it expedient, after the war, to make any addition to the

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the company's eſtabliſhment, for the purpoſes of the aſſigned countries; the expence of ſuch addition, whatever it be, muſt be deducted from the preſent account of ſavings.

In conſidering the charges of the ſeveral diſtricts, in order to eſtabliſh better regulations, we were careful to diſcriminate thoſe incurred for troops kept, or ſuppoſed to be kept up for the defence of the country, from thoſe of the ſibbendy, ſervants, &c. for the cultivation of the lands, and the collection of the revenues, as well as to pay attention to ſuch of the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of the country, ancient privileges of the inhabitants, and publick charities, as were neceſſarily allowed, and appeared proper to be continued; but which, under the nabob's government, were not only rated much higher, but had been blended under one confuſed and almoſt unintelligible title of Expences of the Diſtricts; ſo joined, perhaps, to afford pleas and means of ſecreting and appropriating great part of the revenues to other purpoſes than fairly appeared; and certainly betraying the utmoſt neglect and miſmanagement, as giving latitude for every ſpecies of fraud and oppreſſion. Such a ſyſtem has, in the few latter years of the nabob's neceſſities, brought all his countries into that ſituation, from which nothing but the moſt rigid œconomy, ſtrict obſervance of the conduct of managers, and the moſt conciliating attention

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to the rights of the inhabitants, can poſſibly recover them.

It now only remains for us to lay before your lordſhip, &c. the incloſed ſtatement of the ſums at which the diſtricts lately advertiſed have been let, compared with the accounts of their produce delivered by the nabob, and entered on our proceedings of the 21ſt January. Likewiſe a comparative view of the former and preſent expences.

The nabob's accounts of the produce of theſe diſtricts ſtate, as we have ſome reaſon to think, the ſums which former renters engaged to pay to him (and which were ſeldom, if ever, made good) and not the ſums actually produced by the diſtricts; yet we have the ſatisfaction to obſerve, that the preſent aggregate rents, upon an average, are equal to thoſe accounts. Your lordſhip, &c. cannot indeed expect, that, in the midſt of the danger, invaſion, and diſtreſs, which aſſail the Carnatick on every ſide, the renters now appointed will be able at preſent to fulfil the terms of their leaſes; but we truſt, from the meaſures we have taken, that very little, if any, of the actual collections will be loſt, even during the war; and that on the return of peace and tranquillity, the renters will have it in their power fully to perform their reſpective agreements.

We much regret that the ſituation of the Arcot province will not admit of the ſame ſettlement which

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which has been made for the other diſtricts; but the enemy being in poſſeſſion of the capital, together with ſeveral other ſtrong holds, and having entirely deſolated the country, there is little room to hope for more from it than a bare ſubſiſtence to the few garriſons we have left there.

We ſhall not fail to give our attention towards obtaining every information reſpecting this province, that the preſent times will permit; and to take the firſt opportunity to propoſe ſuch arrangements for the management as we may think eligible.

We have the honour to be
Your moſt obedient
Humble ſervants,

Charles Oakley,
Eyles Irwin,
Hall Plumer,
David Haliburton,
George Moubray.

Fort St. George,
27th May, 1782.

A true copy,
J. Hudleſton, Sec.

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COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the Revenues and Expences of the Nellore, Ongole, Patnaud, Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tennevelly Countries, while in the Hands of the Nabob, with those of the same Countries on the Terms of the Leases lately granted for Four Years to commence with the beginning of the Phazeley 1192, or the 12th July, 1782. Abstracted from the Accounts received from the Nabob, and from the Rents stipulated for, and Expences allowed by the present Leases.

	Gross Revenue.		Expences.			Net Revenue.		
	Annual Gross Rent by the Nabob's Account, Average of the Four Years immediately preceding the present War.	Annual Rent by the present Leases, at an Average of Four Years.	Annual Expences by the Nabob's Accounts.	Annual Expences allowed by the present Leases at an Estimate.	Reduction in the annual Expences.	Net Revenue by the Nabob's Accounts.	Net Revenue by the present Leases.	Increase of Net Revenue.
	Star Pagodas.	Star Pagodas	Star Pagodas.	Star Pagodas	Star Pagodas.	Star Pagodas.	Star Pagodas	Star Pagodas.
Nellore and Sevapully —	3,22,830	3,61,900	1,98,794	83,000	1,65,794	1,24,036	3,28,900	2,04,864
Ongole — — —	1,10,967 (*a*)	55,000	88,254	—	88,254	22,713	55,000	32,287
Patnaud — — —	51,355	53,500	25,721	5,698	20,023	25,634	47,802	22,168
Trichinopoly — —	2,89,993 (*b*)	2,73,214	2,82,148	19,143	2,63,005	7,845	2,54,071	2,46,226
Madura — — —	1,02,756	60,290	63,710	12,037	51,673	39,046	48,253	9,207
Tennevelly — —	5,65,537	5,79,713	1,64,098	70,368	93 730	4,01,439	5,69,345	1,67,906
Total	14,43,438-	15,83,617	8,22,725	1,40,246	6,82,479	6,20,713	12,43,371	6,22,658

N. B. In this statement, Madras Pagodas are calculated at 10 per cent. Batta, Chuckrums at 2-3ds of a Porto Novo Pagoda, which are reckoned at (*a*) 115 per 100 Star Pagodas, and Rupees at 350 per 100 Star Pagodas. To avoid fractions, the nearest integral numbers have been taken.

In this statement, the Ongole country, though it is included under the head of gross revenue, has been let for a certain sum, exclusive of charges.

If the expences specified in the Nabob's vassool accounts for this district are added, the present gross revenue even would appear to exceed the Nabob's—and as the country is only let for one year there may hereafter be an increase of its revenue.

(*b*) The Trichinopoly countries let for the above sum, exclusive of the expences of Sibbendy and Saderwared, amounting by the Nabob's accounts to rupees 1,30,00 per annum, which are to be defrayed by the renter.—And the jaghires of Amur ul Omrah, and the Begum, are not included in the present lease.

Fort St George, 27th May, 1782.

Signed { *Charles Oakley*, *Eyles Irwin*, *Hall Plumer*, *David Haliburton*, *Geo. Moubray*.

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APPENDIX, No. 5.

Referred to from p. 278.

CASE of certain Perſons renting the aſſigned Lands under the authority of the Eaſt-India Company.

Extract of a Letter from the Preſident and Council of Fort St. George, 25th May, 1783.

" ONE of them [the renters] Ram Chunder Raus, was indeed one of thoſe unfortunate rajahs, whoſe country, *by being near to the territories of the nabob*, forfeited its title to independence; and became the prey of ambition and cupidity. This man, though not able to reſiſt the company's arms, *employed in ſuch a deed at the nabob's inſtigation*, had induſtry and ability. He acquired, *by a ſeries of ſervices*, even the confidence of the nabob; who ſuffered him to *rent a part of the country of which he had deprived him of the property*. This man had afforded no motive for his rejection by the nabob, but that of being ready to engage with the company; a motive moſt powerful indeed, but not to be avowed."

[This is the perſon whom the Engliſh inſtruments of the nabob of Arcot have had the auda-

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city to charge with a corrupt tranſaction with lord Macartney; and, in ſupport of that charge, to produce a forged letter from his lordſhip's ſteward. The charge and letter the reader may ſee in this appendix, under the proper head. It is aſſerted, by the unfortunate prince above mentioned, that the company firſt ſettled on the coaſt of Coromandel under the protection of one of his anceſtors. If this be true (and it is far from unlikely) the world muſt judge of the return the deſcendant has met with. The caſe of another of the victims, given up by the miniſtry, though not altogether ſo ſtriking as the former, is worthy of attention. It is that of the renter of the province of Nellore.]

"IT is with a wantonneſs of falſehood, and indifference to detection, aſſerted to you, in proof of the validity of the nabob's objections, that this man's failures had already forced us to remove him; though in fact he has continued invariably in office; though our *greateſt ſupplies have been received from him*; and that, in the diſappointment of your remittances [the remittances from Bengal] and of other reſources, the ſpecie ſent us *from Nellore alone* has ſometimes enabled us to carry on the publick buſineſs; and that the *preſent expedition againſt the French* muſt, without *this* aſſiſtance from the aſſignment, have been laid aſide, or delayed until it might have become too late."

[This

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[This man is by the miniſtry given over to the mercy of perſons capable of making charges on him, "*with a wantonneſs of falſehood, and indiffe-*"*rence to detection.*" What is likely to happen to him and the reſt of the victims, may appear by the following]

Letter to the Governour General, and Council, March 13th, 1782.

"THE ſpeedy termination to which the people were taught to look, of the company's interference in the revenues, and the vengeance denounced againſt thoſe who, contrary to the mandate of the durbar, ſhould be connected with them, as reported by Mr. Sulivan, may, as much as the former exactions and oppreſſions of the nabob in the revenue, as reported by the commander in chief, have deterred ſome of the fitteſt men from offering to be concerned in it.

"The timid diſpoſition of the Hindoo natives of this country was not likely to be inſenſible to the ſpecimen of that vengeance given by his excellency the amur, who upon the mere rumour that a Bramin, of the name of Appagee Row, had given propoſals to the company for the renterſhip of Vellore, had the temerity to ſend for him, and to put him in confinement.

"A man thus ſeized by the nabob's ſeapoys within the walls of Madras, gave a general alarm;

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and government found it neceſſary to promiſe the protection of the company, in order to calm the apprehenſions of the people."

APPENDIX, No. 6.

Referred to from p. 307—312.

Extract of a Letter from the Council and Select Committee at Fort St. George, to the Governour General and Council, dated 25th May, 1783.

IN the proſecution of our duty, we beſeech you to conſider as an act of ſtrict and neceſſary juſtice, previous to reiteration of your orders for the ſurrender of the aſſignment, how far it would be likely to affect third perſons, who do not appear to have committed any breach of their engagements. You command us to compel our aumils to deliver over their reſpective charges as ſhall be appointed by the nabob, or to retain their truſt under his ſole authority, if he ſhall chuſe to confirm them. Theſe aumils are really renters, they were appointed in the room of the nabob's aumils, and contrary to his wiſhes; they have already been rejected by him, and are therefore not likely to be confirmed by him. They applied to this government, in conſequence of publick advertiſements in our name, as poſſeſſing in this inſtance the joint authority

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authority of the nabob and the company, and have entered into mutual and ſtrict covenants with us, and we with them, relative to the certain diſtricts not actually in the poſſeſſion of the enemy; by which covenants, as they are bound to the punctual payment of their rents, and due management of the country, ſo we, and our conſtituents, and the publick faith, are in like manner bound to maintain them in the enjoyment of their leaſes, during the continuance of the term; that term was for five years agreeably to the words of the aſſignment, which declare that the time of renting ſhall be for three or five years, as the governour ſhall ſettle with the renters.—Their leaſes cannot be legally torn from them. Nothing but their previous breach of a part could juſtify our breach of the whole; ſuch a ſtretch and abuſe of power would indeed not only favour of the aſſumption of ſovereignty, but of arbitrary and oppreſſive deſpotiſm. In the preſent conteſt, whether the nabob be guilty, or we be guilty, the renters are not guilty. Whichever of the contending parties has broken the condition of the aſſignment, the renters have not broken the condition of their leaſes. Theſe men, in conducting the buſineſs of the aſſignment, have acted in oppoſition to the deſigns of the nabob, in deſpite of the menaces denounced againſt all who ſhould dare to oppoſe the mandates of the durbar juſtice. Gratitude and humanity require

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require that proviſion ſhould be made by you, before you ſet the nabob's miniſters looſe on the country, for the protection of the victims devoted to their vengeance.

Mr. Benfield, to ſecure the permanency of his power, and the perfection of his ſchemes, thought it neceſſary to render the nabob an abſolute ſtranger to the ſtate of his affairs. He aſſured his highneſs, that full juſtice was not done to the ſtrength of his ſentiments, and the keenneſs of his attacks, in the tranſlations that were made by the company's ſervants from the original Perſian of his letters. He therefore propoſed to him, that they ſhould for the future be tranſmitted in Engliſh.—Of the Engliſh language or writing his highneſs, or the ameer, cannot read one word, though the latter can converſe in it with ſufficient fluency. The Perſian language, as the language of the Mahommedan conquerors, and of the court of Delhi, as an appendage or ſignal of authority, was at all times particularly affected by the nabob:—it is the language of all acts of ſtate, and all publick tranſactions, among the muſſulman chiefs of Indoſtan. The nabob thought to have gained no inconſiderable point, in procuring the correſpondence from our predeceſſors to the rajah of Tanjore to be changed from the Marattah language, which that Hindoo prince underſtands, to the Perſian, which he diſclaims underſtanding. To force the rajah to the nabob's language,

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language, was gratifying the latter with a new ſpecies of ſubſerviency. He had formerly contended with conſiderable anxiety, and it was thought no inconſiderable coſt, for particular forms of addreſs to be uſed towards him in that language. But all of a ſudden, in favour of Mr. Benfield, he quits his former affections, his habits, his knowledge, his curioſity, thé increaſing miſtruſt of age, to throw himſelf upon the generous candour, the faithful interpretation, the grateful return and eloquent organ of Mr. Benfield!—*Mr. Benfield relates and reads what he pleaſes to his excellency the Ameer-ul-Omrah—his excellency communicates with the nabob his father, in the language the latter underſtands. Through two channels ſo pure, the truth muſt arrive at the nabob in perfect refinement; through this double truſt, his highneſs receives whatever impreſſion it may be convenient to make on him: he abandons his ſignature to whatever paper they tell him contains, in the Engliſh language, the ſentiments with which they had inſpired him. He thus is ſurrounded on every ſide. He is totally at their mercy, to believe what is not true, and to ſubſcribe to what he does not mean. There is no ſyſtem ſo new, ſo foreign to his intentions, that they may not purſue in his name, without poſſibility of detection: for they are cautious of who approach him, and have thought prudent to decline, for him, the viſits of the governour*, even upon the uſual ſolemn and acceptable occaſion of delivering to his highneſs the company's

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pany's letters. *Such is the complete aſcendency gained by Mr. Benfield.* It may be partly explained by the facts obſerved already ſome years ago by Mr. Benfield himſelf, in regard to the nabob, of the infirmities natural to his advanced age, joined to the decays of his conſtitution. To this aſcendency, in proportion as it grew, muſt chiefly be aſcribed, if not the origin, at leaſt the continuance and increaſe, of the nabob's diſunion with this preſidency; a diſunion which creates the importance, and ſubſerves the reſentments of Mr. Benfield; *and an aſcendency which, if you effect the ſurrender of the aſſignment, will intirely leave the exerciſe of power, and accumulation of fortune, at his boundleſs diſcretion; to him, and to the Ameer-ul-Omrah, and to Syed Aſſam Cawn, the aſſignment would in fact be ſurrendered.* HE WILL (IF ANY) BE THE SOUCAR SECURITY; *and ſecurity in this country is counterſecured by poſſeſſion. You would not chuſe to take the aſſignment from the company, to give it to individuals.* Of the impropriety of its returning to the nabob, Mr. Benfield would now again argue from his former obſervations, that under his highneſs's management, his country declined, his people emigrated, his revenues decreaſed, and his country was rapidly approaching to a ſtate of political inſolvency. Of Syed Aſſam Cawn, we judge only from the obſervations this letter already contains. But of the other two perſons [Ameer-ul-Omrah and Mr. Benfield]

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field] we undertake to declare, not as parties in a cauſe, or even as voluntary witneſſes, but as executive officers, reporting, to you in the diſcharge of our duty, and under the impreſſion of the ſacred obligation which binds us to truth, as well as to juſtice, that, from every obſervation of their principles and diſpoſitions, and every information of their character and conduct, they have proſecuted projects to the injury and danger of the company and individuals; *that it would be improper to truſt, and dangerous to employ them, in any publick or important ſituation*; *that the tranquillity of the Carnatick requires a reſtraint to the power of the ameer*; *and that the company, whoſe ſervice and protection Mr. Benfield has repeatedly and recently forfeited, would be more ſecure againſt danger and confuſion, if he were removed from their ſeveral preſidencies.*

[After the above ſolemn declaration from ſo weighty an authority, the principal object of that awful and deliberate warning, inſtead of "being "removed from the ſeveral preſidencies," is licenſed to return to one of the principal of thoſe preſidencies, and the grand theatre of the operations on account of which the preſidency recommends his total removal. The reaſon given is for the accommodation of that very debt which has been the chief inſtrument of his dangerous practices, and the main cauſe of all the confuſions in the company's government.]

APPENDIX,

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APPENDIX, No. 7.

Referred to from p. 284, and p. 291.

Extracts from the Evidence of Mr. Petrie, late Reſident for the Company at Tanjore, given to the Select Committee, relative to the Revenues and State of the Country, &c. &c.

9th May, 1782.

WILLIAM PETRIE, Eſq. attending according to order, was aſked, In what ſtation he was in the company's ſervice? he ſaid, He went to India in the year 1765, a writer upon the Madras eſtabliſhment; he was employed, during the former war with Hyder Ali, in the capacity of pay-maſter and commiſſary to part of the army, and was afterwards paymaſter and commiſſary to the army in the firſt ſiege of Tanjore, and the ſubſequent campaigns; then ſecretary to the ſecret department from 1772 to 1775; he came to England in 1775, and returned again to Madras the beginning of 1778; he was reſident at the durbar of the rajah of Tanjore from that time to the month of May; and from that time to January 1780 was chief of Nagore and Carrecal, the firſt of which was received from the rajah of Tanjore, and the ſecond

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cond was taken from the French.—Being aſked, Who ſent him to Tanjore? he ſaid, Sir Thomas Rumbold, and the Secret Committee.——Being then aſked, Upon what errand? he ſaid, He went firſt up with a letter from the company to the rajah of Tanjore; he was directed to give the rajah the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he ſhould be kept in poſſeſſion of his country, and every privilege to which he had been reſtored; he was likewiſe directed to negotiate with the rajah of Tanjore for the ceſſion of the ſeaport and diſtrict of Nagore, in lieu of the town and diſtrict of Devicotta, which he had promiſed to lord Pigot: theſe were the principal, and to the beſt of his recollection at preſent the only objects in view, when he was firſt ſent up to Tanjore. In the courſe of his ſtay at Tanjore other matters of buſineſs occurred between the company and the rajah, which came under his management as reſident at that durbar. Being aſked, Whether the rajah did deliver up to him the town and the annexed diſtricts of Nagore voluntarily, or whether he was forced to it? he ſaid, When he made the firſt propoſition to the rajah, agreeable to the directions he had received from the ſecret committee at Madras, in the moſt free, open, and liberal manner, the rajah told him the ſeaport of Nagore was intirely at the ſervice of his benefactors the company, and that he was happy in having that opportunity of teſtifying his gratitude to them; theſe may be ſuppoſed to be words

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words of courſe, but from every experience which he had of the rajah's mind and conduct, whilſt he was at Tanjore, he has reaſon to believe that his declarations of gratitude to the company were perfectly ſincere; he ſpeaks of the town of Nagore at preſent, and a certain diſtrict, not of the diſtricts to the amount of which they afterwards received. The rajah aſked him, To what amount he expected a jaghire to the company: And the witneſs further ſaid, That he acknowledged to the committee that he was not inſtructed upon that head; that he wrote for orders to Madras, and was directed to aſk the rajah for a jaghire to a certain amount; that this gave riſe to a long negotiation, the rajah repreſenting to him his inability to make ſuch a gift to the company as the ſecret committee at Madras ſeemed to expect; while he (the witneſs) on the other hand, was directed to make as good a bargain as he could for the company. From the view that he then took of the rajah's finances, from the ſituation of his country, and from the load of debt which preſſed hard upon him, he believes he at different times, in his correſpondence with the government, repreſented the neceſſity of their being moderate in their demands, and it was at laſt agreed to accept of the town of Nagore, valued at a certain annual revenue, and a jaghire annexed to the town, the whole amounting to 2,50,000 rupees.—Being aſked, Whether it did

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did turn out ſo valuable? he ſaid, He had not a doubt but it would turn out more, as it was let for more than that to farmers at Madras, if they had managed the diſtricts properly, *but they were ſtrangers to the manners and cuſtoms of the people; when they came down they oppreſſed the inhabitants, and threw the whole diſtrict into confuſion; the inhabitants, many of them, left the country, and deſerted the cultivation of their lands, of courſe the farmers were diſappointed of their collections, and they have ſince failed, and the company have loſt a conſiderable part of what the farmers were to pay for the jaghire.* Being aſked, Who theſe farmers were? he ſaid, One of them was the renter of the St. Thomé diſtrict, near Madras, and the other, and the moſt reſponſible, was a Madras dubaſh.—Being aſked, Who he was dubaſh to? he ſaid, To Mr. Caſſ-major.

Being aſked, Whether the leaſe was made upon higher terms than the diſtrict was rated to him by the rajah? he ſaid, It was.—Being then aſked, What reaſon was aſſigned why the diſtrict was not kept under the former management by amildars, or let to perſons in the Tanjore country acquainted with the diſtrict? he ſaid, No reaſons were aſſigned: he was directed from Madras to advertiſe them to be let to perſons of the country; but before he received any propoſal, he received accounts that they were let at Madras in conſequence of

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publick advertiſements which had been made there: he believes, indeed, there were very few men in thoſe diſtricts reſponſible enough to have been entruſted with the management of thoſe lands. Being aſked, Whether, at the time he was authorized to negotiate for Nagore in the place of Devicotta, Devicotta was given up to the rajah? he ſaid, No.—Being aſked, Whether the rajah of Tanjore did not frequently deſire that the diſtricts of Arné and Hanymantygoodé ſhould be reſtored to him agreeable to treaty, and the company's orders to lord Pigot? he ſaid, Many a time; and he tranſmitted his repreſentations regularly to Madras.—Being then aſked, Whether thoſe places were reſtored to him? he ſaid, Not while he was in India.

Being aſked, Whether he was not authorized and required by the preſidency at Madras to demand a large ſum of money over and above the four lacks of pagodas that were to be annually paid by a grant of the rajah, made in the time of lord Pigot? he ſaid, He was; to the amount, he believes, of four lacks of pagodas, commonly known by the name of depoſit-money.—Being aſked, Whether the rajah did not frequently plead his inability to pay that money? he ſaid, He did every time he mentioned it, and complained loudly of the demand.—Being aſked, Whether he thinks thoſe complaints were well founded? he ſays, He thinks

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thinks the rajah of Tanjore was not only not in a ſtate of ability to pay the depoſit-money, but that the annual payment of four lacks of pagodas was more than his revenues could afford.—Being aſked, Whether he was not frequently obliged to borrow money, in order to pay the inſtalments of the annual payments, and ſuch parts as he paid of the depoſit? he ſaid, Yes, he was.—Being aſked, Where he borrowed the money? he ſaid, He believes principally from ſoucars or native bankers, and ſome at Madras, as he told him.—Being aſked, Whether he told him that his credit was very good, and that he borrowed upon moderate intereſt? he ſaid, That he told him he found great difficulties in raiſing money, and was obliged to borrow at a moſt exorbitant intereſt, even ſome of it at 48 per cent. and he believes not a great deal under it: *he deſired him (the witneſs) to ſpeak to one of the ſoucars or bankers at Tanjore, to accommodate him with a loan of money; that man ſhewed him an account between him and the rajah, from which it appeared that he charged* 48 *per cent. beſides compound intereſt.*——Being aſked, Whether the ſums due were large? he ſaid, Yes, they were conſiderable; though he does not recollect the amount.—Being aſked, Whether the banker lent the money? he ſaid, He would not, unleſs the witneſs could procure him payment of his old arrears.

Being aſked, What notice did the government

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of Madras take of the king of Tanjore's repreſentations of the ſtate of his affairs, and his inability to pay? he ſaid, He does not recollect that, in their correſpondence with him, there was any reaſoning upon the ſubject; and in his correſpondence with Sir Thomas Rumbold, upon the amount of the jaghire, he ſeemed very deſirous of adapting the demand of government to the rajah's circumſtances; but whilſt he ſtaid at Tanjore, the rajah was not exonerated from any part of his burthens.—Being aſked, Whether they ever deſired the rajah to make up a ſtatement of his accounts, diſburſements, debts, and payments, to the company, in order to aſcertain whether the country was able to pay the increaſing demands upon it? he ſaid, Through him he is certain they never did.—Being then aſked, If he ever heard whether they did through any one elſe? he ſaid, He never did.

Being aſked, Whether the rajah is not bound to furniſh the cultivators of land with ſeed for their crops, according to the cuſtom of the country? he ſaid, *The king of Tanjore, as proprietor of the land, always makes advances of money for ſeed for the cultivation of the land.*—Being then aſked, If money beyond his power of furniſhing ſhould be extorted from him, might it not prevent, in the firſt inſtance, the means of cultivating the country? he ſaid, It certainly does, *he knows it for a fact; and he knows that when he left the country there were ſeveral*

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veral diſtricts which were uncultivated from that cauſe. Being aſked, Whether it is not neceſſary to be at a conſiderable expence in order to keep up the mounds and water-courſes? he ſaid, *A very conſiderable one annually.*—Being aſked, What would be the conſequence if money ſhould fail for that? he ſaid, *In the firſt inſtance the country would be partially ſupplied with water, ſome diſtricts would be overflowed, and others would be parched.*—Being aſked, Whether there is not a conſiderable dam called the Anicut, on the keeping up of which the proſperity of the country greatly depends, and which requires a great expence? he ſaid, Yes, there is; the whole of the Tanjore country is admirably well ſupplied with water, nor can he conceive any method could be fallen upon more happily adapted to the cultivation and proſperity of the country; but, as the Anicut is the ſource of that proſperity, any injury done to that muſt eſſentially affect all the other works in the country; it is a moſt ſtupendous piece of maſonry; but from the very great floods frequently requiring repairs, which if neglected not only the expence of repairing muſt be greatly increaſed, but a general injury done to the whole country.—Being aſked, Whether that dam has been kept in as good preſervation ſince the prevalence of the Engliſh government as before? he ſaid, From his own knowledge he cannot tell, but from every thing he has read or heard

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of the former proſperity and opulence of the kings of Tanjore, he ſhould ſuppoſe not.—Being aſked, Whether he does not know of ſeveral attempts that have been made to prevent the repair, and even to damage the work? he ſaid, The rajah himſelf frequently complained of that to him, and he has likewiſe heard it from others at Tanjore.—Being aſked, Who it was that attempted thoſe acts of violence? he ſaid, He was told it was the inhabitants of the nabob's country adjoining to the Anicut:—Being aſked, Whether they were not ſet on or inſtigated by the nabob? he anſwered, The rajah ſaid ſo.—And being aſked, What ſteps the preſident and council took to puniſh the authors, and prevent thoſe violences? he ſaid, To the beſt of his recollection, the governour told him he would make inquiries into it, but he does not know that any inquiries were made: that Sir Thomas Rumbold, the governour, informed him that he had laid his repreſentations with reſpect to the Anicut before the nabob, who denied that his people had given any interruption to the repairs of that work.

10th May.

Being aſked, What he thinks the real clear receipt of the revenues of Tanjore were worth when he left it? he ſaid, He cannot ſay what was the net amount, as he does not know the expence of the rajah's collection, but while he was at Tanjore he underſtood

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underſtood from the rajah himſelf, and from his miniſters, that the groſs collection did not exceed nine lack of pagodas, (360,000l.).—Being aſked, Whether he thinks the country could pay the eight lacks of pagodas which had been demanded to be paid in the courſe of one year? he ſaid, Clearly not.—Being aſked, Whether there was not an attempt made to remove the rajah's miniſter, upon ſome delay in payment of the depoſit? he ſaid, The governour of Madras wrote to that effect, which he repreſented to the rajah.—Being aſked, Who was mentioned to ſucceed to the miniſter that then was, in caſe he ſhould be removed? he ſaid, When Sir Hector Munro came afterwards to Tanjore, the old daubiere was mentioned, and recommended to the rajah as ſucceſſor to his then dewan.—Being aſked, Of what age was the daubiere at that time? he ſaid, Of a very great age, upwards of fourſcore.—Being aſked, Whether a perſon called Kanonga Saba Pilla was not likewiſe named? he ſaid, Yes, he was, he was recommended by Sir Thomas Rumbold; and one recommendation, as well as I can recollect, went through me.—Being aſked, What was the reaſon of his being recommended? he ſaid, He undertook to pay off the rajah's debts, and to give ſecurity for the regular payment of the rajah's inſtalments to the company.—Being aſked, Whether he offered to give any ſecurity for preſerving the

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country from oppreſſion, and for ſupporting the dignity of the rajah and his people? he ſaid, He does not know that he did, or that it was aſked of him.—Being aſked, Whether he was a perſon agreeable to the rajah? he ſaid, He was not.—Being aſked, Whether he was not a perſon who had fled out of the country to avoid the reſentment of the rajah? he ſaid, He was.——Being aſked, Whether he was not charged by the rajah with mal-practices, and breach of truſt relative to his effects? he ſaid, He was; but he told the governour that he would account for his conduct, and explain every thing to the ſatisfaction of the rajah.—Being aſked, Whether the rajah did not conſider this man as in the intereſt of his enemies, and particularly of the nabob of Arcot and Mr. Benfield? he ſaid, He does not recollect that he did mention that to him; he remembers to have heard him complain of a tranſaction between Kanonga Saba Pilla and Mr. Benfield; but he told him he had been guilty of a variety of mal-practices in his adminiſtration, that he had oppreſſed the people, and defrauded him.—Being aſked, In what branch of buſineſs the rajah had formerly employed him? he ſaid, He was at one time, he believes, renter of the whole country, was ſuppoſed to have great influence with the rajah, and was in fact dewan ſome time.—Being aſked, Whether the nomination of that man was not particularly odious to the rajah? he

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he ſaid, He found the rajah's mind ſo exceedingly averſe to that man, that he believes he would almoſt as ſoon have ſubmitted to his being depoſed, as to ſubmit to the nomination of that man to be his prime miniſter.

13th May.

MR. PETRIE being aſked, Whether he was informed by the rajah, or by others, at Tanjore or Madras, that Mr. Benfield, whilſt he managed the revenues at Tanjore, during the uſurpation of the nabob, did not treat the inhabitants with great rigour? he ſaid, He did hear from the rajah, that Mr. Benfield did treat the inhabitants with rigour during the time he had any thing to do with the adminiſtration of the revenues of Tanjore.—Being aſked, If he recollects in what particulars? he ſaid, The rajah particularly complained, that grain had been delivered out to the inhabitants, for the purpoſes of cultivation, at a higher price than the market price of grain in the country; he cannot ſay the actual difference of price, but it ſtruck him at the time as ſomething very conſiderable.—Being aſked, Whether that money was all recovered from the inhabitants? he ſaid, the rajah of Tanjore told him, that the money was all recovered from the inhabitants.—Being aſked, Whether he did not hear that the nabob exacted from the country of Tanjore, whilſt he was in poſſeſſion

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poſſeſſion of it? he ſaid, From the accounts which he received at Tanjore, of the revenues for a number of years paſt, it appeared, that the nabob collected from the country, while he was in poſſeſſion, rather more than 16 lacks of pagodas annually; whereas when he was at Tanjore, it did not yield more than 9 lacks.—Being aſked, From whence that difference aroſe? he ſaid, When Tanjore was conquered for the nabob, he has been told that many thouſand of the native inhabitants fled from the country, ſome into the country of Myſore, and others into the dominions of the Marattas; he underſtood from the ſame authority, that while the nabob was in poſſeſſion of the country, many inhabitants from the Carnatick, allured by the ſuperiour fertility and opulence of Tanjore, and encouraged by the nabob, took up their reſidence there, which enabled the nabob to cultivate the whole country; and, upon the reſtoration of the rajah, he has heard that the Carnatick inhabitants were carried back to their own country, which left a conſiderable blank in the population, which was not re-placed while he was there, principally owing to an opinion which prevailed through the country, that the rajah's government was not to be permanent, but that another revolution was faſt approaching. During the nabob's government, the price of grain was conſiderably higher (owing to a very unuſual ſcarcity in the Carnatick)

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Carnatick) than when he was in Tanjore.—Being aſked, Whether he was ever in the Marawar country? he ſaid, Yes; he was commiſſary to the army in that expedition.—Being aſked, Whether that country was much waſted by the war? he ſaid, Plunder was not permitted to the army, nor did the country ſuffer from its operations, except in cauſing many thouſands of the inhabitants who had been employed in the cultivation of the country, to leave it.—Being aſked, Whether he knows what is done with the palace and inhabitants of Ramnaut? he ſaid, The town was taken by ſtorm, but not plundered by the troops; it was immediately delivered up to the nabob's eldeſt ſon. Being aſked, Whether great riches were not ſuppoſed to be in that palace and temple? he ſaid, It was univerſally believed ſo.—Being aſked, What account was given of them? he ſaid, He cannot tell; every thing remained in the poſſeſſion of the nabob.—Being aſked, What became of the children and women of the family of the prince of that country? he ſaid, The rajah was a minor; the government was in the hands of the ranny, his mother; from general report he has heard they were carried to Trichinopoly, and placed in confinement there.—Being aſked, Whether he perceived any difference in the face of the Carnatick when he firſt knew it, and when he laſt knew it? he ſaid, He thinks he did, particularly in its population.

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population.—Being aſked, Whether it was better or worſe? he ſaid, It was not ſo populous.—Being aſked, What is the condition of the nabob's eldeſt ſon? he ſaid, He was in the Black Town of Madras, when he left the country.—Being aſked, Whether he was entertained there in a manner ſuitable to his birth and expectations? he ſaid, No; he lived there without any of thoſe exterior marks of ſplendour which princes of his rank in India are particularly fond of.—Being aſked, Whether he has not heard that his appointments were poor and mean? he ſaid, He has heard that they were not equal to his rank and expectations.—Being aſked, Whether he had any ſhare in the government? he ſaid, He believes none; for ſome years paſt the nabob has delegated moſt of the powers of government to his ſecond ſon.—Being aſked, Whether the rajah did not complain to him of the behaviour of Mr. Benfield to himſelf perſonally; and what were the particulars? he ſaid, He did ſo, and related to him the following particulars: About fifteen days after lord Pigot's confinement, Mr. Benfield came to Tanjore, and delivered the rajah two letters from the then governour, Mr. Stratton, one publick, and the other private; he demanded an immediate account of the preſents which had been made to lord Pigot, payment of the tunkahs, which he (Mr. Benfield) had received from the nabob upon the country; and

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and that the rajah ſhould only write ſuch letters to the Madras government as Mr. Benfield ſhould approve, and give to him: the rajah anſwered, that he did not acknowledge the validity of any demands made by the nabob upon the country; that thoſe tunkahs related to accounts which he (the rajah) had no concern with; that he never had given lord Pigot any preſents, but lord Pigot had given him many; and that, as to his correſpondence with the Madras government, he would not trouble Mr. Benfield, becauſe he would write his letters himſelf.—That the rajah told the witneſs, that by reaſon of this anſwer he was much threatened, in conſequence of which he deſired colonel Harper, who then commanded at Tanjore, to be preſent at his next interview with Mr. Benfield; when Mr. Benfield denied many parts of the preceding converſation, and threw the blame upon his interpreter Comroo. When Mr. Benfield found (as the rajah informed him) that he could not carry theſe points, which had brought him to Tanjore, he prepared to ſet off for Madras; that the rajah ſent him a letter which he had drawn out, in anſwer to one which Mr. Benfield had brought him; that Mr. Benfield diſapproved of the anſwer, and returned it by Comroo to the durbar, who did not deliver it into the rajah's hands, but threw it upon the ground, and expreſſed himſelf improperly to him.

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Being aſked, Whether it was at the king of Tanjore's deſire, that ſuch perſons as Mr. Benfield and Comroo had been brought into his preſence? he ſaid, The rajah told him, that when lord Pigot came to Tanjore, to reſtore him to his dominions, Comroo, without being ſent for, or deſired to come to the palace, had found means to get acceſs to his perſon; he made an offer of introducing Mr. Benfield to the rajah, which he declined.—Being aſked, Whether the military officer commanding there protected the rajah from the intruſion of ſuch people? he ſaid, The rajah did not tell him that he called upon the military officer to prevent theſe intruſions; but that he deſired colonel Harper to be preſent as a witneſs to what might paſs between him and Mr. Benfield.—Being aſked, If it is uſual for perſons of the conditions and occupations of Mr. Benfield and Comroo to intrude themſelves into the preſence of the princes of the country, and to treat them with ſuch freedom? he ſaid, Certainly it is not; leſs there than in any other country.—Being aſked, Whether the king of Tanjore has no miniſters to whom application might be made to tranſact ſuch buſineſs as Mr. Benfield and Comroo had to do in the country? he ſaid, Undoubtedly; his miniſter is the perſon whoſe province it is to tranſact that buſineſs.—Being aſked, Before the invaſion of the Britiſh troops into Tanjore, what would have been

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been the conſequence, if Mr. Benfield had intruded himſelf into the rajah's preſence, and behaved in that manner? he ſaid, He could not ſay what would have been the conſequence; but the attempt would have been madneſs, and could not have happened.—Being aſked, Whether the rajah had not particular exceptions to Comroo, and thought he had betrayed him in very eſſential points? he ſaid, Yes, he had.—Being aſked, Whether the rajah has not been apprized that the company have made ſtipulations, that their ſervants ſhould not interfere in the concerns of his government? he ſaid, He ſignified it to the rajah, that it was the company's poſitive orders, and that any of their ſervants ſo interfering would incur their higheſt diſpleaſure.

APPENDIX, No. 8.

Referred to from p. 290, &c.

Commiſſioners amended clauſes for the Fort St. George diſpatch, relative to the indeterminate rights and pretenſions of the nabob of Arcot, and rajah of Tanjore.

IN our letter of the 28th January laſt, we ſtated the reaſonableneſs of our expectation that certain contributions

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contributions towards the expences of the war, ſhould be made by the rajah of Tanjore. Since writing that letter, we have received one from the rajah, of the 15th of October laſt, which contains at length his repreſentations of his inability to make ſuch further payment. We think it unneceſſary here to diſcuſs whether theſe repreſentations are or are not exaggerated, becauſe, from the explanations we have given of our wiſhes for a new arrangement in future, both with the nabob of Arcot, and the rajah of Tanjore, and the directions we have given you to carry that arrangement into execution, we think it impolitick to inſiſt upon any demands upon the rajah for the expences of the late war, beyond the ſum of four lacks of pagodas annually; ſuch a demand might tend to interrupt the harmony which ſhould prevail between the company and the rajah, and impede the great objects of the general ſyſtem we have already ſo fully explained to you.

But although it is not our opinion that any further claim ſhould be made on the rajah, for his ſhare of the extraordinary expences of the late war, it is by no means our intention in any manner to affect the juſt claim which the nabob has on the rajah for the arrears due to him on account of peſhcuſh, for the regular payment of which we became guarantee by the treaty of 1762; but we have already expreſſed to you our hopes that the nabob

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nabob may be induced to allow these arrears and the growing payments, when due, to be received by the company, and carried in discharge of his debt to us. You are at the same time to use every means to convince him, that when this debt shall be discharged, it is our intention, as we are bound by the above treaty, to exert ourselves to the utmost of our power to insure the constant and regular payment of it into his own hands.

We observe, by the plan sent to us by our governour of Fort St. George, on the 30th October, 1781, that an arrangement is there proposed, for the receipt of those arrears from the rajah, in three years.

We are unable to decide how far this proposal may be consistent with the present state of the rajah's resources; but we direct you to use all proper means to bring these arrears to account as soon as possible, consistently with a due attention to this consideration.

Clauses H.

You will observe, that by the 38th section of the late act of parliament, it is enacted, that for settling upon a permanent foundation the present indeterminate rights of the nabob of Arcot and the rajah of Tanjore, with respect to each other, we should take into our immediate consideration the said indeterminate rights and pretensions, and

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take and purſue ſuch meaſures as in our judgment and diſcretion ſhall be beſt calculated to aſcertain and ſettle the ſame according to the principles, and the terms and ſtipulations contained in the treaty of 1762, between the ſaid nabob and the ſaid rajah.

On a retroſpect of the proceedings tranſmitted to us from your preſidency, on the ſubject of the diſputes which have heretofore ariſen between the nabob and the rajah, we find the following points remain unadjuſted, viz.

1ſt. Whether the jaghire of Arnee ſhall be enjoyed by the nabob, or delivered up either to the rajah, or the deſcendants of Tremaul Row, the late jaghiredar.

2d. Whether the fort and diſtrict of Hanamantagoody, which is admitted by both parties to be within the Marawar, ought to be poſſeſſed by the nabob, or to be delivered up by him to the rajah.

3d. To whom the government ſhare of the crop of the Tanjore country, of the year 1775-6, properly belongs.

Laſtly. Whether the rajah has a right, by uſage and cuſtom, or ought, from the neceſſity of the caſe, to be permitted to repair ſuch part of the Anicut, or dam and banks of the Cavery, as lie within the diſtrict of Trichinopoly, and to take earth and ſand in the Trichinopoly territory, for the

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the repairs of the dam and banks within either or both of thoſe diſtricts.

In order to obtain a complete knowledge of the facts and circumſtances relative to the ſeveral points in diſpute, and how far they are connected with the treaty of 1762, we have with great circumſpection examined into all the materials before us on theſe ſubjects, and will proceed to ſtate to you the reſult of our inquiries and deliberations.

The objects of the treaty of 1762 appear to be reſtricted to the arrears of tribute to be paid to the nabob for his paſt claims, and to the quantum of the rajah's future tribute or peſhcuſh; the cancelling of a certain bond given by the rajah's father to the father of the nabob; the confirmation to the rajah of the diſtricts of Coveladdy and Elangaud, and the reſtoration of Tremaul Row to his jaghire of Arnee, in condeſcenſion to the rajah's requeſt, upon certain ſtipulations, viz. That the fort of Arnee and Doby Gudy ſhould be retained by the nabob; that Tremaul Row ſhould not erect any fortreſs, walled pagoda, or other ſtrong hold, nor any wall round his dwelling-houſe, exceeding eight feet high, or two feet thick; and ſhould in all things behave himſelf with due obedience to the government; and that he ſhould pay yearly, in the month of July, unto

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the nabob or his ſucceſſors, the ſum of ten thouſand rupees, the rajah thereby becoming the ſecurity for Tremaul Row, that he ſhould in all things demean and behave himſelf accordingly, and pay yearly the ſtipulated ſum.

Upon a review of this treaty, the only point now in diſpute, which appears to us to be ſo immediately connected with it, as to bring it within the ſtrict line of our duty to aſcertain and ſettle, according to the terms and ſtipulations of the treaty, is that reſpecting Arnee. For although the other points enumerated may in ſome reſpects have a relation to that treaty, yet as they are foreign to the purpoſes expreſſed in it, and could not be in the contemplation of the contracting parties at the time of making it, thoſe diſputes cannot in our comprehenſion fall within the line of deſcription of rights and pretenſions to be now aſcertained and ſettled by us, according to any of the terms and ſtipulations of it.

In reſpect to the jaghire of Arnee, we do not find that our records afford us any ſatisfactory information by what title the rajah claims it, or what degree of relationſhip or connection has ſubſiſted between the rajah and the killidar of Arnee, ſave only that by the treaty of 1762 the former became the ſurety for Tremaul Row's performance of his engagements ſpecified therein, as the conditions for his reſtoration to that jaghire; on the death

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death of Tremaul Row we perceive that he was ſucceeded by his widow, and after her death, by his grandſon Seneewaſarow, both of whom were admitted to the jaghire by the nabob.

From your minutes of conſultation of the 31ſt October, 1770, and the nabob's letter to the preſident, of the 21ſt March, 1771, and the two letters from rajah Beerbur, Atchenur Punt (who, we preſume, was then the nabob's manager at Arcot) of the 16th and 18th March, referred to in the nabob's letter, and tranſmitted therewith to the preſident, we obſerve that, previous to the treaty of 1762, Mr. Pigot concurred in the expediency of the nabob's taking poſſeſſion of this jaghire, on account of the troubleſome and refractory behaviour of the Arnee braminees, by their affording protection to all diſturbers; who, by reaſon of the little diſtance between Arnee and Arcot, fled to the former, and were there protected, and not given up, though demanded.

That though the jaghire was reſtored in 1762, it was done under ſuch conditions and reſtrictions as were thought beſt calculated to preſerve the peace and good order of the place, and due obedience to government.

That nevertheleſs the braminees (quarrelling among themſelves) did afterwards, in expreſs violation of the treaty, enliſt and aſſemble many thouſand ſepoys, and other troops; that they erected

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gaddies, and other ſmall forts, provided themſelves with wall pieces, ſmall guns, and other warlike ſtores, and raiſed troubles and diſturbances in the neighbourhood of the city of Arcot, and the forts of Arnee, and Shaw Gaddy; and that finally they impriſoned the hircarrahs of the nabob, ſent with his letters and inſtructions, in purſuance of the advice of your board, to require certain of the braminees to repair to the nabob at Chepauk, and though peremptorily required to repair thither, paid no regard to thoſe, or to any other orders from the circar.

By the 13th article contained in the inſtructions given by the nabob to Mr. Dupré, as the baſis for negotiating the treaty made with the rajah in 1771, the nabob required that the Arnee diſtrict ſhould be delivered up to the circar, becauſe the braminees had broken the conditions which they were to have obſerved. In the anſwers given by the rajah to theſe propoſitions, he ſays, "I am to "give up to the circar the jaghire diſtrict of Ar"nee;" and on the 7th of November, 1771, the rajah, by letter to Seneewaſarow, who appears by your conſultations and country correſpondence to have been the grandſon of Tremaul Row, and to have been put in poſſeſſion of the jaghire at your recommendation (on the death of his grandmother) writes, acquainting him, that he had given the Arnee country then in his (Seneewaſarow's) poſſeſſion,

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poſſeſſion, to the nabob, to whoſe aumildars Seneewaſarow was to deliver up the poſſeſſion of the country. And in your letter to us of the 28th February, 1772, you certified the diſtrict of Arnee to be one of the countries acquired by this treaty, and to be of the eſtimated value of two lacks of rupees per annum.

In our orders, dated the 12th April, 1775, we declared our determination to replace the rajah upon the throne of his anceſtors, upon certain terms and conditions, to be agreed upon for the mutual benefit of himſelf and the company, without infringing the rights of the nabob. We declared, that our faith ſtood pledged by the treaty of 1762, to obtain payment of the rajah's tribute to the nabob; and that for the enſuring ſuch payment the fort of Tanjore ſhould be garriſoned by our troops. We directed that you ſhould pay no regard to the article of the treaty of 1771, which reſpected the alienation of part of the rajah's dominions; and we declared, that if the nabob had not a juſt title to thoſe territories before the concluſion of the treaty, we denied that he obtained any right thereby, except ſuch temporary ſovereignty, for ſecuring the payment of his expences, as is therein mentioned.

Theſe inſtructions appear to have been executed in the month of April, 1776; and by your letter of the 14th May following, you certified to us, that

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the rajah had been put into the poſſeſſion of the whole country his father held in 1762, when the treaty was concluded with the nabob; but we do not find that you came to any reſolution either antecedent or ſubſequent to this advice, either for queſtioning or impeaching the right of the nabob to the ſovereignty of Arnee, or expreſſive of any doubt of his title to it. Nevertheleſs we find, that although the board paſſed no ſuch reſolution, yet your preſident, in his letter to the nabob, of the 30th July, and 24th Auguſt, called upon his highneſs to give up the poſſeſſion of Arnee to the rajah; and the rajah himſelf, in ſeveral letters to us, particularly in thoſe of 21ſt October, 1776, and the 7th of June, 1777, expreſſed his expectation of our orders for delivering up that fort and diſtrict to him; and ſo recently as the 15th of October, 1783, he reminds us of his former application, and ſtates, that the country of Arnee being guaranteed to him by the company, it of courſe is his right; but that it has not been given up to him, and he therefore earneſtly entreats our orders for putting him into the poſſeſſion of it. We alſo obſerve by your letter of the 14th of October, 1779, that the rajah had not then accounted for the nabob's peſhcuſh ſince his reſtoration, but had aſſigned as a reaſon for his withdrawing it, that the nabob had retained from him the diſtrict of Arnee, with a certain other diſtrict (Hanamanta-

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goody) which is made the ſubject of another part of our preſent diſpatches.

We have thus ſtated to you the reſult of our enquiry into the grounds of the diſpute relative to Arnee; and as the reſearch has offered no evidence in ſupport of the rajah's claim, nor even any lights whereby we can diſcover in what degree of relationſhip, by conſanguinity, caſt, or other circumſtances, the rajah now ſtands, or formerly ſtood, with the killidar of Arnee, or the nature of his connexion with, or command over, that diſtrict, or the authority he exerciſed or aſſumed previous to the treaty of 1771, we ſhould think ourſelves highly reprehenſible in complying with the rajah's requeſt; and the more ſo, as it is expreſsly ſtated, in the treaty of 1762, that this fort and diſtrict were then in the poſſeſſion of the nabob, as well as the perſon of the jaghiredar, on account of his diſobedience, and were reſtored him by the nabob, in condeſcenſion to the rajah's requeſt, upon ſuch terms and ſtipulations as could not, in our judgment, have been impoſed by the one, or ſubmitted to by the other, if the ſovereignty of the one, or the dependency of the other, had been at that time a matter of doubt.

Although theſe materials have not furniſhed us with evidence in ſupport of the rajah's claim, they are far from ſatisfactory, to evince the juſtice of, or the political neceſſity for, the nabob's continuing

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ing to withhold the jaghire from the defcendants of Tremaul Row; his hereditary right to that jaghire feems to us to have been fully recognifed by the ſtipulations of the treaty of 1762, and ſo little doubted, that on his death, his widow was admitted by the nabob to hold it, on account, as may be preſumed, of the nonage of his grandſon and heir, Seneewaſarow, who appears to have been confirmed in the jaghire, on her death, by the nabob, as the lineal heir and ſucceſſor to his grandfather.

With reſpect to Seneewaſarow, it does not appear, by any of the proceedings in our poſſeſſion, that he was concerned in the miſconduct of the bramines, complained of by the nabob in the year 1770, which rendered it neceſſary for his highneſs to take the jaghire into his own hands, or that he was privy to, or could have prevented thoſe diſturbances.

We therefore direct, that if the heir of Tremaul Row is not at preſent in poſſeſſion of the jaghire, and has not, by any violation of the treaty, or act of diſobedience, incurred a forfeiture thereof, he be forthwith reſtored to the poſſeſſion of it, according to the terms and ſtipulations of the treaty of 1762. But if any powerful motive of regard to the peace and tranquillity of the Carnatick ſhall in your judgment render it expedient to ſuſpend the execution of theſe orders,

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in that caſe you are with all convenient ſpeed to tranſmit to us your proceedings thereupon, with the full ſtate of the facts, and of the reaſons which have actuated your conduct.

We have before given it as our opinion that the ſtipulations of the treaty of 1762 do not apply to the points remaining to be decided. But the late act of parliament having, from the nature of our connection with the two powers in the Carnatick, pointed out the expediency, and even neceſſity, of ſettling the ſeveral matters in diſpute between them, by a ſpeedy and permanent arrangement, we now proceed to give you our inſtructions upon the ſeveral other heads of diſputes before enumerated.

With reſpect to the fort and diſtrict of Hanamantagoody, we obſerve that on the reſtoration of the rajah in 1776, you informed us in your letter of the 14th of May—"That the rajah had "been put into poſſeſſion of the whole of the coun- "try his father held in 1762 when the treaty was "concluded with the nabob;" and on the 25th of June you came to the reſolution of putting the rajah into poſſeſſion of Hanamantagoody, on the ground of its appearing on reference to the nabob's inſtructions to Mr. Dupré in June, 1762, to his reply, and to the rajah's repreſentations of 25th March, 1771; that Hanamantagoody was actually in the hands of the late rajah at the time of

of making the treaty of 1762. We have referred as well to thoſe papers as to all the other proceedings on this ſubject, and muſt confeſs they fall very ſhort of demonſtrating to us the truth of that fact. And we find, by the ſecret conſultations of Fort William, of the 7th of Auguſt, 1776, that the ſame doubt was entertained by our governour general and council.

But whether, in point of fact, the late rajah was or was not in poſſeſſion of Hanamantagoody, in 1762, it is notorious that the nabob had always claimed the dominion of the countries of which this fort and diſtrict are a part.

We obſerve, that the nabob is now in the actual poſſeſſion of this fort and diſtrict; and we are not warranted, by any document we have ſeen, to concur with the wiſhes of the rajah to diſpoſſeſs him.

With regard to the government ſhare of the crop of 1775-6, we obſerve by the dobeer's memorandum, recited in your conſultations of the 13th of May, 1776, that it was the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the Tanjore country to gather in the harveſt, and complete the collections within the month of March; but that, for the cauſes therein particularly ſtated, the harveſt (and of courſe the collection of the government ſhare of the crop) was delayed till the month of March was over. We alſo obſerve, that the rajah was not reſtored to his kingdom

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kingdom until the 11th of April, 1776; and from hence we infer, that if the harveſt and collection had been finiſhed at the uſual time, the nabob (being then ſovereign of the country) would have received the full benefit of that year's crop.

Although the harveſt and collection were delayed beyond the uſual time, yet we find by the proceedings of your government, and particularly by Mr. Mackay's minute of the 29th of May, 1776, and alſo by the dobeer's account, that the greateſt part of the grain was cut down whilſt the nabob remained in the government of the country.

It is difficult, from the contradictory allegations on the ſubject, to aſcertain what was the preciſe amount of the collections made after the nabob ceaſed to have the poſſeſſion of the country. But whatever it was, it appears from general Stuart's letter of the 2d of April, 1777, that it had been aſſerted with good authority, that the far greater part of the government ſhare of the crop was plundered by individuals, and never came to account in the rajah's treaſury.

Under all the circumſtances of this caſe, we muſt be of opinion, that the government ſhare of the crop of 1776 belonged to the nabob, as the then reigning ſovereign of the kingdom of Tanjore, he being *de facto*, in the full and abſolute poſſeſſion of the government thereof, and conſequently that the

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the assignments made by him of the government share of the crop were valid.

Nevertheless, we would by no means be understood by this opinion to suggest, that any further demands ought to be made upon the rajah, in respect of such parts of the government share of the crop as were collected by his people.

For, on the contrary, after so great a length of time as hath elapsed, we should think it highly unjust that the rajah should be now compelled, either to pay the supposed balances, whatever they may be, or be called upon to render a specifick account of the collection made by his people.

The rajah has already, in his letter to governour Stratton, of the 21st of April, 1777, given his assurance, that the produce of the preceding year, accounted for to him, was little more than one lack of pagodas; and as you have acquainted us, by your letter of the 14th of October, 1779, that the rajah has actually paid into our treasury one lack of pagodas, by way of deposit, on account of the nabob's claims to the crop, till our sentiments should be known, we direct you to surcease any further demands from the rajah on that account.

We learn by the proceedings, and particularly by the nabob's letter to lord Pigot, of the 6th of July, 1776, that the nabob previous to the restoration of the rajah, actually made assignments, or granted

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granted tuncaws of the whole of his ſhare of the crop to his creditors and troops; and that your government (entertaining the ſame opinion as we do upon the queſtion of right to that ſhare) by letter to the rajah of the 20th of Auguſt, 1776, recommended to him "to reſtore to Mr. Benfield "(one of the principal aſſignees or tuncaw-holders "of the nabob) the grain of the laſt year, which "was in poſſeſſion of his people, and ſaid to be "forcibly taken from them; and further, to give "Mr. Benfield all reaſonable aſſiſtance in recover- "ing ſuch debts as ſhould appear to have been "juſtly due to him from the inhabitants; and ac- "quainted the rajah, that it had been judged by "a majority of the council, that it was the com- "pany's intention to let the nabob have the pro- "duce of the crop of 1776, but that you had no "intention that the rajah ſhould be accountable "for more than the government ſhare, whatever "that might be; and that you did not mean to "do more than recommend to him to ſee juſtice "done, leaving the manner and time to himſelf." Subſequent repreſentations appear to have been made to the rajah by your government on the ſame ſubject, in favour of the nabob's mort- gages.

In anſwer to theſe applications, the rajah, in his letter to Mr. Stratton, of the 12th January, 1777, acquainted you, "that he had given orders re- "ſpecting

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"ſpecting the grain which Mr. Benfield had heaped "up in his country; and with regard to the "money due to him by the farmers, that he had "deſired Mr. Benfield to bring accounts of it, that "he might limit a time for the payment of it, "proportionably to their ability, and that the ne-"ceſſary orders for ſtopping this money out of "the inhabitants ſhare of the crop, had been ſent "to the ryots and aumildars; that Mr. Benfield's "gomaſtah was then preſent there, and overſaw "his affairs; and that in every thing that was juſt "he (the rajah) willingly obeyed our governour "and council."

Our opinion being, that the rajah ought to be anſwerable for no more than the amount of what he admits was collected by his people for the government ſhare of the crop; and the proceedings before us not ſufficiently explaining whether, in the ſum which the rajah, by his before-mentioned letter of the 21ſt April, 1777, admits to have collected, are included thoſe parts of the government ſhare of the crop which were taken by his people from Mr. Benfield, or from any other of the aſſignees, or tuncaw-holders; and uninformed as we alſo are, what compenſation the rajah has or has not made to Mr. Benfield, or any other of the parties from whom the grain was taken by the rajah's people; or whether, by means of the rajah's refuſal ſo to do, or from any other circumſtance,

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any of the perſons diſpoſſeſſed of their grain, may have had recourſe to the nabob for ſatisfaction; we are, for theſe reaſons, incompetent to form a proper judgment what diſpoſition ought in juſtice to be made of the one lack of pagodas depoſited by the rajah. But as our ſentiments and intentions are ſo fully expreſſed upon the whole ſubject, we preſume you, who are upon the ſpot, can have no doubt or difficulty in making ſuch an application of the depoſit as will be conſiſtent with thoſe principles of juſtice whereon our ſentiments are founded. But ſhould any ſuch difficulty ſuggeſt itſelf, you will ſuſpend any application of the depoſit, until you have fully explained the ſame to us, and have received our further orders.

With reſpect to the repairs of the Anicut and banks of the Cavery, we have upon various occaſions fully expreſſed to you our ſentiments, and in particular, in our general letter of the 4th July 1777, we referred you to the inveſtigation and correſpondence on that ſubject of the year 1764, and to the report made by Mr. James Bourchier, on his perſonal ſurvey of the waters, and to ſeveral letters of the year 1765 and 1767; we alſo, by our ſaid general letter, acquainted you, that it appeared to us perfectly reaſonable that the rajah ſhould be permitted to repair thoſe banks, and the Anicut, in the ſame manner as had been practiſed in times paſt; and we directed you to eſtabliſh

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ſuch regulations, by reference to former uſage, for keeping the ſaid banks in repair, as would be effectual, and remove all cauſe of complaint in future.

Notwithſtanding ſuch our inſtructions, the rajah, in his letter to us of the 15th October 1783, complains of the deſtruction of the Anicut; and as the cultivation of the Tanjore country appears, by all the ſurveys and reports of our engineers employed on that ſervice, to depend altogether on a ſupply of water by the Cavery, which can only be ſecured by keeping the Anicut and banks in repair, we think it neceſſary to repeat to you our orders of the 4th July 1777, on the ſubject of thoſe repairs.

And further, as it appears, by the ſurvey and report of Mr. Pringle, that thoſe repairs are attended with a much heavier expence when done with materials taken from the Tanjore diſtrict, than with thoſe of Trichinopoly, and that the laſt mentioned materials are far preferable to the other, it is our order, that if any occurrences ſhould make it neceſſary or expedient, you apply to the nabob in our name, to deſire that his highneſs will permit proper ſpots of ground to be ſet out, and bounded by proper marks on the Trichinopoly ſide, where the rajah and his people may at all times take ſand and earth ſufficient for theſe repairs; and that his highneſs will grant his leaſe of ſuch ſpots of land for

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for a certain term of years to the company, at a reaſonable annual rent, to the intent that through you the cultivation of the Tanjore country may be ſecured, without infringing or impairing the rights of the nabob.

If any attempts have been, or ſhall be hereafter made to divert the water from the Cavery into the Coleroon, by contracting the current of the Upper or Lower Cavery, by planting long graſs, as mentioned in Mr. Pringle's report, or by any other means, we have no doubt his highneſs, on a proper repreſentation to him in our name, will prevent his people from taking any meaſures detrimental to the Tanjore country, in the proſperity of which his highneſs, as well as the company, is materially intereſted.

Should you ſucceed in reconciling the nabob to this meaſure, we think it but juſt, that the propoſed leaſe ſhall remain no longer in force than whilſt the rajah ſhall be punctual in the payment of the annual peſhcuſh to the nabob, as well as the rent to be reſerved for the ſpots of ground. And in order effectually to remove all future occaſions of jealouſy and complaint between the parties, that the rajah on the one hand may be ſatisfied that all neceſſary works for the cultivation of his country will be made and kept in repair; and that the nabob on the other hand may be ſatisfied that no encroachment on his rights can be made, nor

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any works detrimental to the fertility of his country erected; we think it proper that it ſhould be recommended to the parties, as a part of the adjuſtment of this very important point, that ſkilful engineers, appointed by the company, be employed at the rajah's expence to conduct all the neceſſary works, with the ſtricteſt attention to the reſpective rights and intereſts of both parties. This will remove every probability of injury or diſpute; but ſhould either party unexpectedly conceive themſelves to be injured, immediate redreſs might be obtained by application to the government of Madras, under whoſe appointment the engineer will act, without any diſcuſſion between the parties, which might diſturb that harmony which it is ſo much the wiſh of the company to eſtabliſh and preſerve, as eſſential to the proſperity and peace of the Carnatick.

Having now, in obedience to the directions of the act of parliament, upon the fulleſt conſideration of the indeterminate rights and pretenſions of the nabob and rajah, pointed out ſuch meaſures and arrangements as in our judgment and diſcretion will be beſt calculated to aſcertain and ſettle the ſame, we hope, that upon a candid conſideration of the whole ſyſtem, although each of the parties may feel diſappointed in our deciſion on particular points, they will be convinced that we have been guided in our inveſtigation by principles

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of ſtrict juſtice and impartiality, and that the moſt anxious attention has been paid to the ſubſtantial intereſts of both parties, and ſuch a general and comprehenſive plan of arrangement propoſed, as will moſt effectually prevent all future diſſatisfaction.

Approved by the board.

HENRY DUNDAS,
WALSINGHAM,
W. W. GRENVILLE,
MULGRAVE.

Whitehall,
October 27, 1784,

APPENDIX, No. 9.

Referred to from p. 279 and 287.

Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors, to the Preſident and Council of Fort St. George, as amended and approved by the Board of Control.

WE have taken into our conſideration the ſeveral advices and papers received from India, relative to the aſſignment of the revenues of the Carnatick, from the concluſion of the Bengal treaty to the date of your letter in October 1783,

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together with the repreſentations of the nabob of the Carnatick upon that ſubject; and although we might contend, that the agreement ſhould ſubſiſt till we are fully reimburſed his highneſs's proportion of the expences of the war, yet from a principle of moderation and perſonal attachment to our old ally, his highneſs the nabob of the Carnatick, for whoſe dignity and happineſs we are ever ſolicitous, and to cement more ſtrongly, if poſſible, that mutual harmony and confidence which our connection makes ſo eſſentially neceſſary for our reciprocal ſafety and welfare, *and for removing from his mind every idea of ſecret deſign on our part to leſſen his authority over the internal government of the Carnatick*, and the collection and adminiſtration of its revenues, we have reſolved that the aſſignment ſhall be ſurrendered; and we do accordingly direct our preſident, in whoſe name the aſſignment was taken, *without delay*, to ſurrender the ſame to his highneſs. But while we have adopted this reſolution, we repoſe entire confidence in his highneſs, that, actuated by the ſame motives of liberality, and feelings of old friendſhip and alliance, he will chearfully and inſtantly accede to ſuch arrangements as are neceſſary to be adopted for our common ſafety, and for preſerving the reſpect, rights, and intereſts we enjoy in the Carnatick. The following are the heads and principles of ſuch an arrangement as we are deciſively

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ſively of opinion muſt be adopted for theſe purpoſes, viz.

That for making a proviſion for diſcharging the nabob's juſt debts to the company and individuals (for the payment of which his highneſs has ſo frequently expreſſed the greateſt ſolicitude) the *nabob ſhall give ſoucar ſecurity for the punctual payment, by inſtalments*, into the company's treaſury, of twelve lacks of pagodas per annum (as voluntarily propoſed by his highneſs) until thoſe debts, with intereſt, ſhall be diſcharged; and ſhall alſo conſent that the equitable proviſion lately made by the Britiſh legiſlature for the liquidation of thoſe debts, *and ſuch reſolutions and determinations* as we ſhall *hereafter make*, under the authority of that proviſion for the liquidation and adjuſtment of the ſaid debts, *bonâ fide* incurred, ſhall be carried into full force and effect.

Should any difficulty ariſe between his highneſs and our government of Fort St. George, in reſpect to the *reſponſibility of the ſoucar ſecurity*, or the times and terms of the inſtalments, it is our pleaſure that you pay obedience to the orders and reſolutions of our governour general and council of Bengal in reſpect thereto, not doubting but the nabob will in ſuch caſe conſent to abide by the determination of our ſaid ſupreme government.

Although, from the great confidence we repoſe in the honour and integrity of the nabob, and

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from an earneſt deſire not to ſubject him to any embarraſſment on this occaſion, we have not propoſed any ſpecifick aſſignment of territory or revenue for ſecuring the payments aforeſaid, we nevertheleſs think it our duty, as well to the private creditors, whoſe intereſts in this reſpect have been ſo ſolemnly intruſted to us by the late act of parliament, as from regard to the debt due to the company, to inſiſt on a declaration that in the event of the failure of the ſecurity propoſed, or in default of payment at the ſtipulated periods, we reſerve to ourſelves full right to demand of the nabob ſuch *additional ſecurity*, by aſſignment on his country, as ſhall be effectual for anſwering the purpoſes of the agreement.

After having conciliated the mind of the nabob to this meaſure, and adjuſted the particulars, you are to carry the ſame into execution by a formal deed between his highneſs and the company, according to the tenour of theſe inſtructions.

As the adminiſtration of the Britiſh intereſts and connections in India has in ſome reſpects aſſumed a new ſhape by the late act of parliament, and a general peace in India has been happily accompliſhed, the preſent appears to us to be the proper period, and which cannot without great imprudence be omitted, to ſettle and arrange, by a juſt and equitable treaty, a plan for the future defence and protection of the Carnatick, both in time

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time of peace and war, on a ſolid and laſting foundation.

For the accompliſhment of this great and neceſſary object, we direct you, in the name of the company, to uſe your utmoſt endeavours to impreſs the expediency of, and the good effects to be derived from, this meaſure, ſo ſtrongly upon the minds of the nabob and the rajah of Tanjore, as to prevail upon them, jointly or ſeparately, to enter into one or more treaty or treaties with the company, grounded on this principle of equity, That all the contracting parties ſhall be bound to contribute jointly to the ſupport of the military force and garriſons, as well in peace as in war.

That the military peace eſtabliſhment ſhall be forthwith ſettled and adjuſted by the company, in purſuance of the authority and directions given to them by the late act of parliament.

As the payment of the troops and garriſons, occaſional expences in the repairs and improvements of fortifications, and other ſervices incidental to a military eſtabliſhment, muſt of neceſſity be punctual and accurate, no latitude of perſonal aſſurance or reciprocal confidence of either of the parties on the other, muſt be accepted or required; but the nabob and rajah muſt of neceſſity ſpecify particular diſtricts and revenues for ſecuring the due and regular payment of their contributions into the treaſury of the company, with whom the charge of

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of the defence of the coaſt, and of courſe the power of the ſword, muſt be excluſively intruſted, with power for the company, in caſe of failure or default of ſuch payments, at the ſtipulated times and ſeaſons, to enter upon and poſſeſs ſuch diſtricts, and to let the ſame to renters, to be confirmed by the nabob and the rajah reſpectively; but truſting that in the execution of this part of the arrangement no undue obſtruction will be given by either of thoſe powers, we direct, that this part of the treaty be coupled with a moſt poſitive aſſurance, on our part, of our determination to ſupport the dignity and authority of the nabob and rajah, in the excluſive adminiſtration of the civil government and revenues of their reſpective countries; and further, that in caſe of *any* hoſtility committed againſt the territories of either of the contracting parties, on the coaſt of Coromandel, the whole revenues of their reſpective territories ſhall be conſidered as one common ſtock, to be appropriated in the common cauſe of their defence—That the company on their part ſhall engage to refrain, *during the war*, from the application of any part of their revenues to any commercial purpoſes whatſoever, but apply the whole, ſave only the ordinary charges of their civil government, to the purpoſes of the war—That the nabob and the rajah ſhall in like manner engage on their parts to refrain, during the war, from

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from the application of any part of their revenues, ſave only what ſhall be actually neceſſary for the ſupport of themſelves, and the civil government of their reſpective countries, to any other purpoſes than that of defraying the expences of ſuch military operations as the company may find it neceſſary to carry on for the common ſafety of their intereſts on the coaſt of Coromandel.

And to obviate any difficulties or miſunderſtanding which might ariſe from leaving indeterminate the ſum neceſſary to be appropriated for the civil eſtabliſhment of each of the reſpective powers, that the ſum be now aſcertained which is indiſpenſably neceſſary to be applied to thoſe purpoſes, and which is to be held ſacred under every emergency, and ſet apart previous to the application of the reſt of the revenues, as hereby ſtipulated, for the purpoſes of mutual or common defence againſt any enemy, for *clearing* the incumbrance which may have become neceſſarily incurred in addition to the expenditure of thoſe revenues *which muſt be always deemed part of the war eſtabliſhment.* This we think abſolutely neceſſary, as nothing can tend ſo much to the preſervation of peace, and to prevent the renewal of hoſtilities, as the early putting the finances of the ſeveral powers upon a clear footing; and the ſhewing to all other powers, that the company, the nabob, and the rajah, are firmly united in one common cauſe, and combined

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in one ſyſtem of permanent and vigorous defence, for the preſervation of their reſpective territories, and the general tranquillity.

That the whole aggregate revenue of the contracting parties ſhall, during the war, be under the application of the company, and ſhall continue as long after the war *as ſhall be neceſſary, to diſcharge the burthens contracted by it;* but it muſt be declared, that this proviſion ſhall in no reſpect extend to deprive either the nabob or the rajah of the ſubſtantial authority neceſſary to the collection of the revenues of their reſpective countries. But it is meant that they ſhall faithfully perform the conditions of this arrangement; and if a diviſion of any part of the revenues, to any other than the ſtipulated purpoſes, ſhall take place, the company ſhall be entitled to take upon themſelves the collection of the revenue.

The company are to engage, during the time they ſhall adminiſter the revenues, to produce to the other contracting parties regular accounts of the application thereof to the purpoſes ſtipulated by the treaty, and faithfully apply them in ſupport of the war.

And laſtly, as the defence of the Carnatick is thus to reſt with the company, the nabob ſhall be ſatisfied of the propriety of avoiding all unneceſſary expence, and will therefore agree not to maintain a greater number of troops than ſhall be neceſſary

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ceſſary for the ſupport of his dignity, and the ſplendour of the durbar, which number ſhall be ſpecified in the treaty; and if any military aid is requiſite for the ſecurity and collection of his revenues, other than the fixed eſtabliſhment employed to enforce the ordinary collections, and preſerve the police of the country, the company muſt be bound to furniſh him with ſuch aid: the rajah of Tanjore muſt likewiſe become bound by ſimilar engagements, and be entitled to ſimilar aid.

As, in virtue of the powers veſted in lord Macartney, by the agreement of December, 1781, ſundry leaſes, of various periods, have been granted to renters, we direct, that you apply to the nabob, in our name, for his conſent, that they may be *permitted* to hold their leaſes to the end of the ſtipulated term; and we have great reliance* on the liberality and ſpirit of accommodation manifeſted by the nabob on ſo many occaſions, that he will be diſpoſed to acquieſce in a propoſition ſo *juſt and reaſonable*; but if, contrary to our expectations, his highneſs ſhould be impreſſed with any particular averſion to comply with this propoſition, we do not deſire you to inſiſt upon it as an eſſential part of the arrangement to take place between us; but in that event you muſt take eſpe-

* For the ground of this "great reliance," ſee the papers in this Appendix, No. 5.; as alſo the nabob's letters to the court of directors in this Appendix, No. 10.

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dial care to give such indemnification to the renters for any loss they may sustain, as you judge to be reasonable.

It equally concerns the honour of our government, that such natives as may have been put in any degree of authority over the collections, in consequence of the deed of assignment, and who have proved faithful to their trust, shall not suffer inconvenience on account of their fidelity.

Having thus given our sentiments at large, as well for the surrender of the assignment, as with regard to those arrangements which we think necessary to adopt in consequence thereof, we cannot dismiss this subject without expressing our highest approbation of the *ability, moderation, and command of temper*, with which our president at Madras has conducted himself in the management of a very delicate and embarrassing situation. His conduct, and that of the select committee of Fort St. George, in the execution of the trust delegated to lord Macartney, by the nabob Mahomed Ally, has been vigorous and effectual, for the purpose of realizing as great a revenue, at a crisis of necessity, as the nature of the case admitted; and the imputation of corruption, suggested in some of the proceedings, appears to be totally groundless and unwarranted.

While we find so much to applaud, it is with regret we are induced to advert to any thing which

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which may appear worthy of blame, as the ſtep of iſſuing the Torana Chits in lord Macartney's own name can only be juſtified upon the ground of abſolute neceſſity;* and as his lordſhip had every reaſon to believe that the demand, when made, would be irkſome and diſagreeable to the feelings of Mahomed Ally, every precaution ought to have been uſed, and more time allowed, for proving that neceſſity, by previous acts of addreſs, civility, and conciliation, applied for the purpoſes of obtaining his authority to ſuch a meaſure. It appears to us, that more of this might have been uſed; and therefore we cannot conſider the omiſſion of it as blameleſs, conſiſtent with our wiſhes of ſanctifying no act contrary to the ſpirit of the agreement, or derogatory to the authority of the nabob of the Carnatick, in the exerciſe of any of

* For the full proof of this neceſſity, lord Macartney's whole correſpondence on the ſubject may be referred to. Without the act here condemned, not one of the acts commended in the preceding paragraph could be performed. By referring to the nabob's letters in this Appendix it will be ſeen what ſort of taſk a governour has on his hands, who is to uſe, according to the direction of this letter, "acts of addreſs, civility, and conciliation, and to pay, upon *all* occaſions, the *higheſt attention*" to perſons, who at the very time are falſely, and in the groſſeſt terms, accuſing him of peculation, corruption, treaſon, and every ſpecies of malverſation in office. The recommendation, under menaces of ſuch behaviour, and under ſuch circumſtances, conveys a leſſon, the tendency of which cannot be miſunderſtood.

his

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his juſt rights, in the government of the people under his authority.

We likewiſe obſerve, the nabob has complained that no official communication was made to him of the peace, for near a month after the ceſſation of arms took place. This, and every other mark of diſreſpect to the nabob, will ever appear highly reprehenſible in our eyes; and we direct that you do, upon all occaſions, pay the higheſt attention to him and his family.

Lord Macartney, in his minute of the 9th of September laſt, has been fully under our conſideration: we ſhall ever applaud the prudence and foreſight of our ſervants, which induces them to collect and communicate to us, every opinion, or even ground of ſuſpicion, they may entertain, relative to any of the powers in India, with whoſe conduct our intereſt, and the ſafety of our ſettlements, is eſſentially connected. At the ſame time we earneſtly recommend, that thoſe opinions and ſpeculations be communicated to us with prudence, diſcretion, and all poſſible ſecrecy; *and the terms in which they are conveyed be expreſſed in a manner as little offenſive as poſſible to the powers whom they may concern, and into whoſe hands they may fall.**

We

* The delicacy here recommended in the *expreſſions* concerning conduct "with which the ſafety of our ſettlements is eſſentially connected," is a leſſon of the ſame nature with the former.

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We next proceed to give you our ſentiments reſpecting the private debts of the nabob; *and we cannot but acknowledge*, that the origin and juſtice, both of the loan of 1767, and the loan of 1777, commonly called the cavalry loan, appear to us clear and indiſputable, agreeable to the true ſenſe and ſpirit of the late act of parliament.

In ſpeaking of the loan of 1767, we are to be underſtood as ſpeaking of the debt as conſtituted by the original bonds of that year, bearing intereſt at 10*l.* per cent.; and therefore, if any of the nabob's creditors, under a pretence that their debts made part of the conſolidated debt of 1767, although ſecured by bonds of a ſubſequent date, carrying an intereſt exceeding 10*l.* per cent. ſhall claim the benefit of the following orders, we direct that you pay no regard to ſuch claims, without further eſpecial inſtructions for that purpoſe.

With reſpect to the conſolidated debt of 1777, it certainly ſtands upon a leſs favourable footing.

mer. Dangerous deſigns, if truly ſuch, ought to be expreſſed according to their nature and qualities; and as for the *ſecrecy* recommended concerning the deſigns here alluded to, nothing can be more abſurd, as they appear very fully and directly in the papers publiſhed by the authority of the court of directors in 1775, and may be eaſily diſcerned from the propoſitions for the Bengal treaty, publiſhed in the Reports of the Committee of Secrecy, and in the Reports of the Select Committee. The keeping of ſuch ſecrets too long has been one cauſe of the Carnatick war, and of the ruin of our affairs in India.

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So early as the 27th March, 1769, it was ordered by our then preſident and council of Fort St. George, that for the preventing all perſons living under the company's protection from having any dealings with any of the country powers, or their miniſters, without the knowledge or conſent of the board, an advertiſement ſhould be publiſhed, by fixing it up at the ſea-gate, and ſending round a copy to the company's ſervants and inhabitants, and to the different ſubordinates, and our garriſons, and giving it out in general orders; ſtating therein, that the preſident and council did conſider the irreverſible order of the court of directors of the year 1714 (whereby their people were prohibited from having any dealings with the country governments in money matters) to be in full force and vigour; and thereby expreſsly forbidding all ſervants of the company, and other Europeans under their juriſdiction, to make loans, or have any money tranſactions with any of the princes or ſtates in India, without ſpecial licence and permiſſion of the preſident and council for the time being, except only in the particular caſes there mentioned; and declaring, that any wilful deviation therefrom ſhould be deemed a breach of orders, and treated as ſuch. And on the 4th of March 1778, it was reſolved by our preſident and council of Fort St. George, that the conſolidated debt of 1777 was not, on any reſpect whatever, conducted

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conducted under the auſpices or protection of that government; and on the circumſtance of the conſolidation of the ſaid debt being made known to us, we did, on the 23d of December, 1778, write to you in the following terms: "Your account "of the nabob's private debts is very alarming; "but from whatever cauſe or cauſes thoſe debts "have been contracted or increaſed, we hereby "repeat our orders, that the ſanction of the com-"pany be on no account given to any kind of ſe-"curity for the payment or liquidation of any "part thereof (except by the expreſs authority of "the court of directors) on any account or pre-"tence whatever."

The loan of 1777, therefore, has no ſanction or authority from us; and in conſidering the ſituation and circumſtances of this loan, we cannot omit to obſerve, that the creditors could not be ignorant how greatly the affairs of the nabob were at that time deranged, and that his debt to the company was then very conſiderable; the payment of which the parties took the moſt effectual means to poſtpone, by procuring an aſſignment of ſuch ſpecifick revenues, for the diſcharge of their own debts, as alone could have enabled the nabob to have diſcharged that of the company.

Under all theſe circumſtances, we ſhould be warranted to refuſe our aid or protection in the recovery of this loan; but when we conſider the

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inexpediency of keeping the ſubject of the nabob's debts longer afloat than is abſolutely neceſſary; when we conſider how much the final concluſion of this buſineſs will tend to promote tranquillity, credit, and circulation of property in the Carnatick; and when we conſider that the debtor concurs with the creditor in eſtabliſhing the juſtice of thoſe debts conſolidated in 1777 into groſs ſums, for which bonds were given, liable to be transferred to perſons different from the original creditors, and having no ſhare or knowledge of the tranſactions in which the debts originated, and of courſe how little ground there is to expect any ſubſtantial good to reſult from an unlimited inveſtigation into them, we have reſolved ſo far to recogniſe the juſtice of thoſe debts, as to extend to them that protection which, upon *more* forcible grounds, we have ſeen cauſe to allow to the other two claſſes of debts. But, although we ſo far adopt the general preſumption in their favour, as to admit them to a participation in the manner hereafter directed, we do not mean to debar you from receiving any complaints againſt thoſe debts of 1777, at the inſtance either of the nabob himſelf, or of other creditors injured by their being ſo admitted, or by any other perſons having a proper intereſt, or ſtating reaſonable grounds of objection; and if any complaints are offered, we order that the grounds of all ſuch be attentively examined by you,

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you, and be tranſmitted to us, together with the evidence adduced in ſupport of them, for our final deciſion; and as we have before directed, that the ſum of twelve lacks of pagodas, to be received annually from the nabob, ſhould be paid into our treaſury, it is our order that the ſame be diſtributed according to the following arrangement.

That the debt be made up in the following manner, viz.

The debt conſolidated in 1767 to be made up to the end of the year 1784, with the current intereſt at ten per cent.

The cavalry loan to be made up to the ſame period, with the current intereſt at twelve per cent.

The debt conſolidated in 1777 to be made up to the ſame period, with the current intereſt at twelve per cent. to November, 1781, and from thence with the current intereſt at ſix per cent.

The twelve lacks annually to be received, are then to be applied,

1. To the growing intereſt on the cavalry loan, at twelve per cent.

2. To the growing intereſt on the debt of 1777, at ſix per cent.

The remainder to be equally divided; one half to be applied to the extinction of the company's debt, the other half to be applied to the payment of growing intereſt at 10*l.* per cent. and towards the diſcharge of the principal of the debt of 1767.

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This arrangement to continue till the principal of the debt 1767 is discharged.

The application of the twelve lacks is then to be,

1. To the interest of the debt 1777, as above. The remainder to be then equally divided; one half towards the discharge of the current interest and principal of the cavalry loan, and the other half towards the discharge of the company's debt.

When the cavalry loan shall be thus discharged, there shall then be paid, towards the discharge of the company's debt, seven lacks.

To the growing interest and capital of the 1777 loan, five lacks.

When the company's debt shall be discharged, the whole is then to be applied in discharge of the debt 1777.

If the nabob shall be prevailed upon to apply the arrears and growing payments of the Tanjore peshcush in further discharge of his debts, over and above the twelve lacks of pagodas, we direct that the whole of that payment, when made, shall be applied towards the reduction of the company's debt.

We have laid down these general rules of distribution, as appearing to us founded on justice, and the relative circumstances of the different debts; and therefore we give our authority and protection to them only on the supposition that they who ask our protection acquiesce in the condition

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dition upon which it is given; and therefore we expreſsly order, that if any creditor of the nabob, a ſervant of the company, or being under our protection, ſhall refuſe to expreſs his acquieſcence in theſe arrangements, he ſhall not only be excluded from receiving any ſhare of the fund under your diſtribution, but ſhall be prohibited from taking any ſeparate meaſures to recover his debt from the nabob, it being one great inducement to our adopting this arrangement, that the nabob ſhall be relieved from all further diſquietude by the importunities of his individual creditors, and be left at liberty to purſue thoſe meaſures for the proſperity of his country, which the embarraſſments of his ſituation have hitherto deprived him of the means of exerting. And we further direct, that if any creditor ſhall be found refractory, or diſpoſed to diſturb the arrangement we have ſuggeſted, he ſhall be diſmiſſed the ſervice, and ſent home to England.

The directions we have given only apply to the three claſſes of debts which have come under our obſervation. It has been ſurmiſed, that the nabob has of late contracted further debts; if any of theſe are due to Britiſh ſubjects, we forbid any countenance or protection whatever to be given to them, until the debt is fully inveſtigated, the nature of it reported home, and our ſpecial inſtructions upon it received.

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We cannot conclude this ſubject, without adverting in the ſtrongeſt terms to the prohibitions which have from time to time iſſued under the authority of different courts of directors againſt any of our ſervants, or of thoſe under our protection, having any money tranſactions with any of the country powers, without the knowledge and previous conſent of our reſpective governments abroad; we are happy to find that the nabob, ſenſible of the great embarraſſments both to his own and the company's affairs, which the enormous amount of their private claims have occaſioned, is willing to engage not to incur any new debts with individuals, and we think little difficulty will be found in perſuading his highneſs into a poſitive ſtipulation for that purpoſe; and though the legiſlature has thus humanely interfered in behalf of ſuch individuals as might otherwiſe have been reduced to great diſtreſs by the paſt tranſactions, we hereby, in the moſt pointed and poſitive terms, repeat our prohibition upon this ſubject; and direct that no perſon, being a ſervant of the company, or being under our protection, ſhall, on any pretence whatever, be concerned in any loan or other money tranſaction with any of the country powers, unleſs with the knowledge and expreſs permiſſion of our reſpective governments. And if any of our ſervants, or others being under our protection, ſhall be diſcovered in any reſpect counteracting

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teracting theſe orders, we ſtrictly enjoin you to take the firſt opportunity of ſending them home to England, to be puniſhed as guilty of diſobedience of orders, and no protection or aſſiſtance of the company ſhall be given for the recovery of any loans connected with ſuch tranſactions. Your particular attention to this ſubject is ſtrictly enjoined; and any connivance on your parts, to a breach of our orders upon it, will incur our higheſt diſpleaſure.

In order to put an end to thoſe intrigues, which have been ſo ſucceſsfully carried on at the nabob's durbar, we repeat our prohibition in the ſtrongeſt terms reſpecting any intercourſe between Britiſh ſubjects and the nabob and his family, as we are convinced that ſuch an intercourſe has been carried on greatly to the detriment and expence of the nabob, and merely to the advantage of individuals. We therefore direct, that all perſons who ſhall offend againſt the letter and ſpirit of this neceſſary order, whether in the company's ſervice, or under their protection, be forthwith ſent to England.

Approved by the Board.

Whitehall,
15th Oct. 1784.

HENRY DUNDAS,
WALSINGHAM,
W. W. GRENVILLE,
MULGRAVE.

Extract

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Extract from the Repreſentation of the Court of Directors of the Eaſt India Company.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with extreme concern that we expreſs a difference of opinion with your right honourable board, in this early exerciſe of your controlling power; but in ſo novel an inſtitution, it can ſcarce be thought extraordinary, if the exact boundaries of our reſpective functions and duties ſhould not at once, on either ſide, be preciſely and familiarly underſtood, and therefore confide in your juſtice and candour for believing that we have no wiſh to evade or fruſtrate the ſalutary purpoſes of your inſtitution, as we on our part are thoroughly ſatisfied that you have no wiſh to encroach on the legal powers of the Eaſt India company: we ſhall proceed to ſtate our objections to ſuch of the amendments as appear to us to be either inſufficent, inexpedient, or unwarranted.

6th. Concerning the private Debts of the Nabob of Arcot, and the Application of the Fund of twelve Lacks of Pagodas per Annum.

Under this head you are pleaſed, in lieu of our paragraphs, to ſubſtantiate at once the juſtice of all thoſe demands which the act requires us to inveſtigate, ſubject only to a right reſerved to the nabob,

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nabob, or any other party concerned, to queſtion the juſtice of any debt falling within the laſt of the three claſſes; we ſubmit, that at leaſt the opportunity of queſtioning, within the limited time, the juſtice of any of the debts, ought to have been fully preſerved; and ſuppoſing the firſt and ſecond claſſes to ſtand free from imputation (as we incline to believe they do) no injury can reſult to individuals from ſuch diſcuſſion: and we further ſubmit to your conſideration, how far the expreſs direction of the act to examine the nature and origin of the debts has been, by the amended paragraphs, complied with; and whether at leaſt the rate of intereſt, according to which the debts ariſing from ſoucar aſſignment of the land revenues to the ſervants of the company, acting in the capacity of native bankers, have been accumulated, ought not to be inquired into, as well as the reaſonableneſs of the deduction of 25 per cent. which the Bengal government directed to be made from a great part of the debts on certain conditions. But to your appropriation of the fund, our duty requires that we ſhould ſtate our ſtrongeſt diſſent. Our right to be paid the arrears of thoſe expences, by which, almoſt to our own ruin, we have preſerved the country, and all the property connected with it, from falling a prey to a foreign conqueror, ſurely ſtands paramount to all claims for former debts upon the revenues of a country ſo preſerved,

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preſerved, even if the legiſlature had not expreſsly limited the aſſiſtance to be given the private creditors to be ſuch as ſhould be conſiſtent with our own rights. The nabob had, long before paſſing the act, by treaty with our Bengal government, agreed to pay us ſeven lacks of pagodas, as part of the twelve lacks, in liquidation of thoſe arrears, of which ſeven lacks the arrangement you have been pleaſed to lay down would take away from us more than the half, and give it to private creditors, of whoſe demands there are only about a ſixth part which do not ſtand in a predicament that you declare would not entitle them to any aid or protection from us in the recovery thereof, were it not upon grounds of expediency, as will more particularly appear by the annexed eſtimate. Until our debt ſhall be diſcharged, we can by no means conſent to give up any part of the ſeven lacks to the private creditors; and we humbly apprehend, that in this declaration we do not exceed the limits of the authority and rights veſted in us.

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The Right honourable the Commiſſioners for the Affairs of India.

The REPRESENTATION of the Court of Directors of the Eaſt India Company.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE court having duly attended to your reaſonings and deciſions, on the ſubjects of Arnee and Hanamantagoody, beg leave to obſerve, with due deference to your judgment, that the directions we had given in theſe paragraphs, which did not obtain your approbation, ſtill appear to us to have been conſiſtent with juſtice, and agreeable to the late act of parliament, which pointed out to us, as we apprehended, the treaty of 1762 as our guide.

Signed by order of the ſaid court,

THO. MORTON, Sec.

Eaſt India Houſe,
the 3d November, 1784.

Extract

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Extract of a Letter from the Commiſſioners for the Affairs of India, to the Court of Directors, dated 3d November, 1784, in Anſwer to their Remonſtrance.

Sixth Article.

WE think it proper, conſidering the particular nature of the ſubject, to ſtate to you the following remarks on that part of your repreſentation which relates to the plan for the diſcharge of the nabob's debts.

1ſt. You compute the revenue which the Carnatick may be expected to produce only at twenty lacks of pagodas. If we concurred with you in this opinion, we ſhould certainly feel our hopes of advantage to all the parties from this arrangement conſiderably diminiſhed. But we truſt, that we are not too ſanguine on this head, when we place the greateſt reliance on the eſtimate tranſmitted to you by your preſident of Fort St. George, having there the beſt means of information upon the fact, and ſtating it with a particular view to the ſubject matter of theſe paragraphs. Some allowance, we are ſenſible, muſt be made for the difference of collection in the nabob's hands, but we truſt not ſuch as to reduce the receipt nearly to what you ſuppoſe.

2dly.

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2dly. In making up the amount of the private debts, you take in compound intereſt at the different rates ſpecified in our paragraph. This it was not our intention to allow; and leſt any miſconception ſhould ariſe on the ſpot, we have added an expreſs direction, that the debts be made up with ſimple intereſt only, from the time of their reſpective conſolidation. Clauſe Ff.

3dly. We have alſo the ſtrongeſt grounds to believe, that the debts will be, in other reſpects, conſiderably leſs than they are now computed by you; and conſequently, the company's annual proportion of the twelve lacks will be larger than it appears on your eſtimate. But even on your own ſtatement of it, if we add to the 150,000l. or 3,75,000 pagodas (which you take as the annual proportion to be received by the company for five years to the end of 1789) the annual amount of the Tanjore peſhcuſh for the ſame period, and the arrears on the peſhcuſh (propoſed by lord Macartney to be received in three years); the whole will make a ſum not falling very ſhort of pagodas 35,00,000, the amount of pagodas 7,00,000 *per annum* for the ſame period. And if we carry our calculations farther, it will appear that, both by the plan propoſed by the nabob, and adopted in your paragraphs, and by that which we tranſmitted to you, the debt from the nabob, if taken at 3,000,000l. will be diſcharged nearly at the ſame

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ſame period, viz. in the courſe of the eleventh year. We cannot therefore be of opinion that there is the ſmalleſt ground for objecting to this arrangement, as injurious to the intereſts of the company, even if the meaſure were to be conſidered on the mere ground of expediency, and with a view only to the wiſdom of re-eſtabliſhing credit and circulation in a commercial ſettlement, without any conſideration of thoſe motives of attention to the feelings and honour of the nabob, of humanity to individuals, and of juſtice to perſons in your ſervice, and living under your protection, which have actuated the legiſlature, and which afford not only juſtifiable, but commendable grounds for your conduct.

Impreſſed with this conviction, we have not made any alteration in the general outlines of the arrangement which we had before tranſmitted to you. But, as the amount of the nabob's revenue is matter of uncertain conjecture, and as it does not appear juſt to us, that any deficiency ſhould fall wholly on any one claſs of theſe debts, we have added a direction to your government of Fort St. George, that if, notwithſtanding the proviſions contained in our former paragraphs, any deficiency ſhould ariſe, the payments of what ſhall be received ſhall be made in the ſame proportion which would have obtained in the diviſion of the whole twelve lacks, had they been paid.

APPENDIX,

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APPENDIX, No. 10.

Referred to from p. 309.

[THE following extracts are ſubjoined, to ſhew the matter and the ſtyle of repreſentation employed by thoſe who have obtained that aſcendency over the nabob of Arcot, which is deſcribed in the letter marked No. 6. of the preſent Appendix, and which is ſo totally deſtructive of the authority and credit of the lawful Britiſh government at Madras. The charges made by theſe perſons have been ſolemnly denied by Lord Macartney; and, to judge from the character of the parties accuſed and accuſing, they are probably void of all foundation. But as the letters are in the name and under the ſignature of a perſon of great rank and conſequence among the natives; as they contain matter of the moſt ſerious nature; as they charge the moſt enormous crimes, and corruptions of the groſſeſt kind, on a Britiſh governour; and as they refer to the nabob's miniſter in Great Britain for proof and further elucidation of the matters complained of, common decency, and common policy, demanded an inquiry into their truth or falſhood. The writing is obviouſly the product of ſome Engliſh pen. If, on inquiry, theſe charges ſhould be made good

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(a thing very unlikely) the party accuſed would become a juſt object of animadverſion. If they ſhould be found (as in all probability they would be found) falſe and calumnious, and ſupported by *forgery*, then the cenſure would fall on the accuſer; at the ſame time the neceſſity would be manifeſt for proper meaſures towards the ſecurity of government againſt ſuch infamous accuſations. It is as neceſſary to protect the honeſt fame of virtuous governours, as it is to puniſh the corrupt and tyrannical. But neither the court of directors nor the board of control have made any inquiry into the truth or falſhood of theſe charges. They have covered over the accuſers and accuſed with abundance of compliments. They have inſinuated ſome oblique cenſures; and they have recommended perfect harmony between the chargers of corruption and peculation, and the perſons charged with theſe crimes.]

13th October, 1782. Extract of a tranſlation of a letter from the nabob of Arcot to the chairman of the court of directors of the Eaſt India company.

"FATALLY for me, and for the publick intereſt, the company's favour and my unbounded confidence have been laviſhed on a man totally unfit for the exalted ſtation in which he has been placed,

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placed, and unworthy of the truſts that have been repoſed in him. When I ſpeak of one who has ſo deeply ſtabbed my honour, my wounds bleed afreſh, and I muſt be allowed that freedom of expreſſion which the galling reflection of my injuries and my misfortunes naturally draws from me. Shall your ſervants, unchecked, unreſtrained, and unpuniſhed, gratify their private views and ambition, at the expence of my honour, my peace, and my happineſs, and to the ruin of my country as well as of all your affairs? No ſooner had lord Macartney obtained the favourite object of his ambition, than he betrayed the greateſt inſolence towards me, the moſt glaring neglect of the common civilities and attentions paid me by all former governours, in the worſt of times, and even by the moſt inveterate of my enemies. He inſulted my ſervants, endeavoured to defame my character by unjuſtly cenſuring my adminiſtration, and extended his boundleſs uſurpation to the whole government of my dominions, in all the branches of judicature and police; and, in violation of the expreſs articles of the agreements, proceeded to ſend renters into the countries, unapproved of by me, men of bad character, and unequal to my management or reſponſibility. Though he is chargeable with the greateſt acts of cruelty, even to the ſhedding the blood and cutting off the noſes and ears of my ſubjects, by thoſe exerciſing

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his authority in the countries, and that even the duties of religion and publick worſhip have been interrupted or prevented; and, though he carries on all his buſineſs by the arbitrary exertion of military force, yet does he not collect from the countries one-fourth of the revenue that ſhould be produced. The ſtatement he pretends to hold forth of expected revenue, is totally fallacious, and can never be realized under the management of his lordſhip, in the appointment of renters, totally diſqualified, rapacious, and irreſponſible, who are actually embezzling and diſſipating the publick revenues that ſhould aſſiſt in the ſupport of the war. Totally occupied by his private views, and governed by his paſſions, he has neglected or ſacrificed all the eſſential objects of publick good, and by want of co-operation with Sir Eyre Coote, and refuſal to furniſh the army with the neceſſary ſupplies, has rendered the glorious and repeated victories of the gallant general ineffectual to the expulſion of our cruel enemy. To cover his inſufficiency, and veil the diſcredit attendant on his failure in every meaſure, he throws out the moſt illiberal expreſſions, and inſtitutes unjuſt accuſations againſt me; and, in aggravation of all the diſtreſſes impoſed upon me, he has abetted the meaneſt calumniators, to bring forward falſe charges againſt me, and my ſon Ameer-ul-Omrah, in order to create embarraſſment, and for the diſtreſs

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treſs of my mind. My papers and writings ſent to you, muſt teſtify to the whole world the malevolence of his deſigns, and the means that have been uſed to forward them. He has violently ſeized and opened all letters addreſſed to me and my ſervants, on my publick and private affairs. My vackeel, that attended him, according to ancient cuſtom, has been ignominiouſly diſmiſſed from his preſence, and not ſuffered to approach the government-houſe. He has in the meaneſt manner, and as he thought in ſecret, been tampering and intriguing with my family and relations for the worſt of purpoſes. And if I expreſs the agonies of my mind under theſe moſt pointed injuries and oppreſſions, and complain of the violence and injuſtice of lord Macartney, I am inſulted by his affected conſtruction, that my communications are dictated by the inſinuations of others. At the ſame time that his conſcious apprehenſions for his miſconduct, have produced the moſt abject applications to me, to ſmother my feelings, and entreaties to write in his lordſhip's favour to England, and to ſubmit all my affairs to his direction. When his ſubmiſſions have failed to mould me to his will, he has endeavoured to effect his purpoſes by menaces of his ſecret influence with thoſe in power in England, which he pretends to aſſert, ſhall be effectual to confirm his uſurpation, and to deprive me and my family, in ſucceſſion,

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of my rights of ſovereignty and government for ever. To ſuch a length have his paſſions and violences carried him, that all my family, my dependants, and even my friends and viſitors, are perſecuted with the ſtrongeſt marks of his diſpleaſure. Every ſhadow of authority in my perſon is taken from me, and reſpect to my name diſcouraged throughout the whole country. When an officer of high rank in his majeſty's ſervice was ſome time ſince introduced to me by lord Macartney, his lordſhip took occaſion to ſhew a perſonal deriſion and contempt of me. Mr. Richard Sulivan, who has attended my durbar under the commiſſion of the governour general and council of Bengal, has experienced his reſentment; and Mr. Benfield, *with whom I have no buſineſs*, and who, as he has been accuſtomed to do for many years, has continued to pay me his viſits of reſpect, has felt the weight of his lordſhip's diſpleaſure, and has had every unmerited inſinuation thrown out againſt him, to prejudice him, and deter him from paying me his compliments as uſual.

"Thus, gentlemen, have you delivered me over to a ſtranger; to a man unacquainted with government and buſineſs, and too opinionated to learn; to a man whoſe ignorance and prejudices operate to the neglect of every good meaſure, or the liberal co-operation with any that wiſh well to the publick intereſts; to a man who, to purſue his own paſſions,

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paſſions, plans, and deſigns, will certainly ruin all mine, as well as the company's affairs. His miſmanagement and obſtinacy have cauſed the loſs of many lacks of my revenues, diſſipated and embezzled, and every publick conſideration ſacrificed, to his vanity and private views. I beg to offer an inſtance in proof of my aſſertions, and to juſtify the hope I have, that you will cauſe to be made good to me all the loſſes I have ſuſtained, by the mal-adminiſtration and bad practices of your ſervants, according to all the account of receipts of former years, and which I made known to lord Macartney, amongſt other papers of information, in the beginning of his management in the collections. The diſtrict of Ongole produced annually, upon a medium of many years, ninety thouſand pagodas; but lord Macartney, *upon receiving a ſum of money from Ranchundry*,* let it out to him, in April laſt, for the inadequate rent of 50,000 pagodas *per annum*, diminiſhing, in this diſtrict alone, near half the accuſtomed revenues. After this manner hath he exerciſed his powers over the countries, to ſuit his own purpoſes and deſigns; and this ſecret mode has he taken to reduce the collections."

* See Tellinga letter at the end of this correſpondence.

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1ſt November, 1782. Copy of a Letter from the Nabob of Arcot to the Court of Directors, &c. Received 7th April, 1783.

THE diſtreſſes which I have ſet forth in my former letters, are now increaſed to ſuch an alarming pitch, by the imprudent meaſures of your governour, and by the arbitrary and impolitick conduct purſued with the merchants and importers of grain, that the very exiſtence of the fort of Madras ſeems at ſtake, and that of the inhabitants of the ſettlement appears to have been totally overlooked; many thouſands have died, and continue hourly to periſh of famine, though the capacity of one of your youngeſt ſervants, with diligence and attention, by doing juſtice, and giving reaſonable encouragement to the merchants, and by drawing the ſupplies of grain which the northern countries would have afforded, might have ſecured us againſt all thoſe dreadful calamities. I had with much difficulty procured and purchaſed a ſmall quantity of rice, for the uſe of myſelf, my family, and attendants, and with a view of ſending off the greateſt part of the latter to the northern countries, with a little ſubſiſtence in their hands. But what muſt your ſurpriſe be, when you learn, that even this rice was ſeized by lord Macartney, with a military force! and thus am I unable to provide for the few people I have about me, who are driven

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driven to ſuch extremity and miſery, that it gives me pain to behold them. I have deſired permiſſion to get a little rice from the northern countries for the ſubſiſtence of my people, without its being liable to ſeizure by your ſepoys: this even has been refuſed me by lord Macartney. What muſt your feelings be, on ſuch wanton cruelty, exerciſed towards me, when you conſider that of thouſands of villages belonging to me, a ſingle one would have ſufficed for my ſubſiſtence!

22d March, 1783. Tranſlation of a Letter from the Nabob of Arcot to the Chairman and Directors of the Eaſt India Company.—Received from Mr. James Macpherſon, 1ſt Jan. 1784.

"I AM willing to attribute this continued uſurpation to the fear of detection in lord Macartney: he dreads the awful day when the ſcene of his enormities will be laid open, at my reſtoration to my country, and when the tongues of my oppreſſed ſubjects will be unlooſed, and proclaim aloud the cruel tyrannies they have ſuſtained. Theſe ſentiments of his lordſhip's deſigns are corroborated by his ſending, on the 10th inſtant, two gentlemen to me and my ſon Ameer-ul-Omrah; and theſe gentlemen from lord Macartney eſpecially ſet forth to me, and to my ſon, that all dependance on the power of the ſuperiour government of Bengal, to enforce the intentions of the company

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company to reſtore my country, was vain and groundleſs; that the company confided in his lordſhip's judgment and diſcretion, and upon his repreſentations, and that if I, and my ſon, Ameer-ul-Omrah, would enter into friendſhip with lord Macartney, and ſign a paper, declaring all my charges and complaints againſt him to be falſe, that his lordſhip might be induced to write to England, that all his allegations againſt me and my ſon were not well-founded; and, notwithſtanding his declarations to withhold my country, yet on theſe conſiderations, it might be ſtill reſtored me.

" What muſt be your feelings for your ancient and faithful friend, on his receiving ſuch inſults to his honour and underſtanding from your principal ſervant, armed with your authority? From theſe manœuvres, amongſt thouſands I have experienced, the truth muſt evidently appear to you, that I have not been loaded with thoſe injuries and oppreſſions from motives of publick ſervice, but to anſwer the private views and intereſts of his lordſhip, and his ſecret agents: *ſome papers to this point are incloſed*; others, almoſt without number, muſt be ſubmitted to your juſtice, when time and circumſtances will enable me fully to inveſtigate thoſe tranſactions. This opportunity will not permit the full repreſentation of my load of injuries and diſtreſſes: I beg leave to refer you to my miniſter, Mr. Macpherſon, for the papers, according to the incloſed liſt, which accompanied my laſt diſpatches by

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by the Rodney, which I fear have failed; and my correſpondence with lord Macartney, ſubſequent to that period, ſuch as I have been able to prepare for this opportunity, are incloſed.

" Notwithſtanding all the violent acts and declarations of lord Macartney, yet a conſciouſneſs of his own miſconduct was the ſole incentive to the menaces and overtures he has held out, in various ſhapes. He has been inſultingly laviſh in his expreſſions of high reſpect for my perſon; has had the inſolence to ſay, that all his meaſures flowed from his affectionate regard alone; has preſumed to ſay, that all his enmity and oppreſſion were levelled at my ſon, Ameer-ul-Omrah, to whom he before acknowledged every aid and aſſiſtance: and, his lordſhip being without any juſt cauſe or foundation for complaint againſt us, or a veil to cover his own violences, he has now had recourſe to the meanneſs, and has dared to intimate of my ſon, in order to intimidate me, and to ſtrengthen his own wicked purpoſes, to be in league with our enemies the French. You muſt doubtleſs be aſtoniſhed, no leſs at the aſſurance, than at the abſurdity of ſuch a wicked ſuggeſtion."

(In the nabob's own hand.)

" P. S. In my own hand-writing I acquainted Mr. Haſtings, as I now do my ancient friends the company, with the inſult offered to my honour and underſtanding, in the extraordinary propoſitions ſent

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ſent to me by lord Macartney, through two gentlemen, on the 10th inſtant, ſo artfully veiled with menaces, hopes, and promiſes. But how can lord Macartney add to his enormities, after his wicked and calumniating inſinuations, ſo evidently directed againſt me and my family, through my faithful, my dutiful, and beloved ſon, Ameer-ul-Omrah, who, you well know, has been ever born and bred amongſt the Engliſh, whom I have ſtudiouſly brought up in the warmeſt ſentiments of affection and attachment to them; ſentiments, that in his maturity have been his higheſt ambition to improve, inſomuch that he knows no happineſs, but in the faithful ſupport of our alliance and connexion with the Engliſh nation?"

12th Auguſt, and Poſtſcript of the 16th Auguſt, 1783. Tranſlation of a Letter to the Chairman and Directors of the Eaſt-India Company. Received from Mr. James Macpherſon, 14th January, 1784.

"YOUR aſtoniſhment and indignation will be equally raiſed with mine, when you hear that your preſident *has dared*, contrary to your intention, to continue to uſurp the privileges and hereditary powers of the nabob of the Carnatick, your old and unſhaken friend, and the declared ally of the king of Great Britain.

"I will not take up your time by enumerating the

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the particular acts of lord Macartney's violence, cruelty, and injuſtice; *they indeed occur too frequently, and fall upon me, and my devoted ſubjects and country, too thick, to be regularly related.* I refer you to my miniſter, Mr. James Macpherſon, *for a more circumſtantial account of the oppreſſions and enormities by which he has brought both mine* and the company's affairs to the brink of deſtruction. I truſt that ſuch flagrant violations of all juſtice, honour, and the faith of treaties, will receive the ſevereſt marks of your diſpleaſure, and that lord Macartney's conduct, in making uſe of your name and authority as a ſanction for the continuance of his uſurpation, will be diſclaimed with the utmoſt indignation, and followed with the ſevereſt puniſhment. I conceive that his lordſhip's arbitrary retention of my country and government can only originate in his *inſatiable cravings*, in his implacable malevolence againſt me, and through fear of detection, which muſt follow the ſurrender of the Carnatick into my hands, of thoſe nefarious proceedings, which are now ſuppreſſed by the arm of violence and power.

"I did not fail to repreſent to the ſupreme government of Bengal the deplorable ſituation to which I was reduced, and the unmerited perſecutions I have unremittingly ſuſtained from lord Macartney; and I earneſtly implored them to ſtretch forth a ſaving arm, and interpoſe that controlling

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ling power which was veſted in them, to check *rapacity and preſumption*, and preſerve the honour and faith of the company from violation. The governour-general and council not only felt the cruelty and injuſtice I had ſuffered, but were greatly alarmed for the fatal conſequences that might reſult from the diſtruſt of the country powers in the profeſſions of the Engliſh, when they ſaw the nabob of the Carnatick, the friend of the company, and the ally of Great Britain, thus ſtripped of his rights, his dominions, and his dignity, by the moſt fraudulent means, and under the maſk of friendſhip. The Bengal government had already heard both the Mahrattas and the Nizam urge as an objection to an alliance with the Engliſh, the faithleſs behaviour of lord Macartney to a prince whoſe life had been devoted, and whoſe treaſures had been exhauſted, in their ſervice and ſupport; and they did not heſitate to give poſitive orders to lord Macartney for the reſtitution of my government and authority, on ſuch terms as were not only ſtrictly honourable, but equally advantageous to my friends the company; for they juſtly thought that my honour and dignity, and *ſovereign rights*, were the firſt objects of my wiſhes and ambition: But how can I paint my aſtoniſhment at lord Macartney's preſumption, in continuing his uſurpation, after their poſitive and reiterated mandates! and, as if nettled

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nettled by their interference, which he diſdained, in redoubling the fury of his violence, and ſacrificing the publick and myſelf, to his malice and ungovernable paſſions!

" I am, gentlemen, at a loſs to conceive where his uſurpation will ſtop, and have an end. Has he not ſolemnly declared that the aſſignment was only made for the ſupport of war? and, if neither your inſtructions, nor the orders of his ſuperiours at Bengal, were to be conſidered as effectual, has not the treaty of peace virtually determined the period of his tyrannical adminiſtration? But ſo far from ſurrendering the Carnatick into my hands, he has, ſince that event, affixed advertiſements to the walls and gates of the Black Town, for letting to the beſt bidder the various diſtricts, for the term of three years; and has continued the committee of revenue, which you poſitively ordered to be aboliſhed, to whom he has allowed enormous ſalaries, from 6000 to 4000 pagodas per annum, which each member has received from the time of his appointment, though his lordſhip well knows that moſt of them are by your orders diſqualified, by being my principal creditors.

" If thoſe acts of violence and outrage had been productive of publick advantage, I conceive his lordſhip might have held them forward, in extenuation of his conduct; but whilſt he cloaks his juſtification under the veil of your records, it is impoſſible

impoſſible to refute his aſſertions, or to expoſe to you their fallacy; and when he is no longer able to ſupport his conduct by argument, he refers to thoſe records, where, I underſtand, he has exerciſed all his ſophiſtry and malicious inſinuations, to render me and my family obnoxious in the eyes of the company, and the Britiſh nation; and when the glorious victories of Sir Eyre Coote have been rendered abortive by a conſtant deficiency of ſupplies; and when, ſince the departure of that excellent general to Bengal, whoſe loſs I muſt ever regret, a dreadful famine, at the cloſe of laſt year, occaſioned by his lordſhip's neglect to lay up a ſufficient ſtock of grain at a proper ſeaſon, and from his prohibitory orders to private merchants; and when no exertion has been made, nor advantage gained over the enemy; when Hyder's death and Tippoo's return to his own dominions operated in no degree for the benefit of our affairs; in ſhort, when all has been a continued ſeries of diſappointment and diſgrace under lord Macartney's management (and in him alone has the management been veſted), I want words to convey thoſe ideas of his inſufficiency, ignorance, and obſtinacy, which I am convinced you would entertain, had you been ſpectators of his ruinous and deſtructive conduct.

"But againſt me and my ſon, Ameer-ul-Omrah, has his lordſhip's vengeance chiefly been exerted; even

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even the company's own ſubordinate zemindars have found better treatment, probably becauſe they were more rich; thoſe of Nizanagoram have been permitted, contrary to your pointed orders, to hold their rich zemindaries at the old diſproportionate rate of little more than a ſixth part of the real revenue; and my zemindar of Tanjore, though he ſhould have regarded himſelf equally concerned with us in the event of the war, and from whoſe fertile country many valuable harveſts have been gathered in, which have ſold at a vaſt price, has, I underſtand, only contributed laſt year, towards the publick exigencies, the very inconſiderable ſum of one lack of pagodas, and a few thouſand pagodas-worth of grain.

"I am much concerned to acquaint you, that ever ſince the peace a dreadful famine has ſwept away many thouſands of the followers, and ſepoys families of the army, from lord Macartney's neglect to ſend down grain to the camp, though the roads are crowded with veſſels: but his lordſhip has been too intent upon his own diſgraceful ſchemes, to attend to the wants of the army. The negotiation with Tippoo, which he has ſet on foot through the mediation of Monſieur Buſſy, has employed all his thoughts, and to the attainment of that object he will ſacrifice the deareſt intereſts of the company to gratify his malevolence againſt me, and for his own private advantages. The en-

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deavour to treat with Tippoo, through the means of the French, muſt ſtrike you, gentlemen, as highly improper and impolitick; but it muſt raiſe your utmoſt indignation to hear, that by intercepted letters from Buſſy to Tippoo, as well as from their reſpective vakeels, and from various accounts from Cuddalore, we have every reaſon to conclude that his lordſhip's ſecretary, Mr. Staunton, when at Cuddalore, as his agent to ſettle the ceſſation of arms with the French, was informed of all their operations and projects, and *conſequently that lord Macartney has ſecretly connived at Monſieur Buſſy's recommendation to Tippoo to return into the Carnatick, as the means of procuring the moſt advantageous terms, and furniſhing lord Macartney with the plea of neceſſity for concluding a peace after his own manner:* and what further confirms the truth of this fact is, that repeated reports, as well as the alarms of the inhabitants to the weſtward, leave us no reaſon to doubt that Tippoo is approaching towards us. His lordſhip has iſſued publick orders, that the garriſon ſtore of rice, for which we are indebted to the exertions of the Bengal government, ſhould be immediately diſpoſed of, and has ſtrictly forbid all private grain to be ſold; by which act he effectually prohibits all private importation of grain, and may eventually cauſe as horrid a famine as that which we experienced at the cloſe of laſt year, from the ſame ſhort-ſighted policy

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policy and deſtructive prohibitions of lord Macartney.

" But as he has the fabrication of the records in his own hands, he truſts to thoſe partial repreſentations of his character and conduct, becauſe the ſignatures of thoſe members of government whom he ſeldom conſults, are affixed, as a publick ſanction; but you may form a juſt idea of their correctneſs and propriety, when you are informed, that his lordſhip, *upon my noticing the heavy diſburſements made for ſecret ſervice money, ordered the ſums to be ſtruck off, and the accounts to be eraſed from the caſh-book of the company;* and I think I cannot give you a better proof of his management of my country and revenues, than by calling your attention to his conduct in the Ongole province, and by referring you to his lordſhip's adminiſtration of your own jaghire, from whence he has brought to the publick account the ſum of twelve hundred pagodas for the laſt year's revenue, yet blazons forth his vaſt merits and exertions, and expects to receive the thanks of his committee and council. —I will beg leave to refer you to my miniſter, James Macpherſon, eſq. for a more particular account of my ſufferings and miſeries, to whom I have tranſmitted copies of all papers that paſſed with his lordſhip.

" I cannot conclude without calling your attention to the *ſituation of my different creditors*, whoſe claims are the claims of juſtice, and whoſe de-

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mands I am bound by honour, and every moral obligation, to discharge; it is not therefore without great concern I have heard insinuations tending to question the legality of their right to the payment of those just debts; they proceeded from advances made by them openly and honourably for the support of my own and the publick affairs. But I hope the tongue of calumny will never drown the voice of truth and justice; and while that is heard, the wisdom of the English nation cannot fail to accede to an effectual remedy for their distresses, by any arrangement in which their claims may be duly considered, and equitably provided for; and for this purpose my minister, *Mr. Macpherson, will readily subscribe, in my name, to any agreement you may think proper to adopt, founded on the same principles* with either of the engagements I entered into with the supreme government of Bengal, for our mutual interest and advantage.—I always pray for your happiness and prosperity."

6th September, and Postscript of 7th September, 1783. Translation of a Letter from the Nabob of Arcot to the Chairman and Directors of the East-India Company.—Received from Mr. James Macpherson, 14th January, 1784.

"I REFER you, gentlemen, to my inclosed duplicate, as well as to my minister, Mr. Macpherson, for

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for the particulars of my ſufferings. There is no word or action of mine that is not perverted; and though it was my intention to have ſent my ſon, Ameer-ul-Omrah, who is well verſed in my affairs, to Bengal, to impreſs thoſe gentlemen with a full ſenſe of my ſituation, yet I find myſelf obliged to lay it aſide, from the inſinuations of the calumniating tongue of lord Macartney, that takes every licence to traduce every action of my life, and that of my ſon. I am informed that lord Macartney, at this late moment, intends to write a letter; I am ignorant of the ſubject; but fully perceive, that by delaying to ſend it till the very eve of the diſpatch, he means to deprive me of all poſſibility of communicating my reply, and forwarding it for the information of my friends in England. Conſcious of the weak ground on which he ſtands, he is obliged to have recourſe to theſe artifices to miſlead the judgment, and ſupport for a time his unjuſtifiable meaſures by deceit and impoſition. I wiſh only to meet and combat his charges and allegations fairly and openly; and I have repeatedly and urgently demanded to be furniſhed with copies of thoſe parts of his *fabricated* records relative to myſelf; but as he well knows I ſhould refute his ſophiſtry, I cannot be ſurpriſed at his refuſal, though I lament that it prevents you, gentlemen, from a clear inveſtigation of his conduct towards me.

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"Incloſed you have a tranſlation of an arzee from the killidar of Vellore: *I have thouſands of the ſame kind;* but this juſt now received will ſerve to give you ſome idea of the miſeries brought upon this my devoted country, and the wretched inhabitants that remain in it, by the oppreſſive hand of lord Macartney's management; nor will the *embezzlements of collections* thus obtained, when brought before you in *proof*, appear leſs extraordinary, which *ſhall certainly be done in due time.*"

Tranſlation of an Arzee, in the Perſian Language, from Uzzeem ul Doen Cawn, the Killidar of Vellore, to the Nabob, dated 1ſt September, 1783. Incloſed in the Nabob's Letter to the Court of Directors, September, 1783.

"I HAVE repeatedly repreſented to your highneſs the violences and oppreſſions exerciſed by the preſent amildar [collector of revenue] of lord Macartney's appointment, over the few remaining inhabitants of the diſtrict of Vellore, Ambore, Saulguda, &c.

"The outrages and violences now committed, are of that aſtoniſhing nature as were never known or heard of during the adminiſtration of the circar. Hyder Naik, the cruelleſt of tyrants, uſed every kind of oppreſſion in the circar countries;

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tries; but even his meaſures were not like thoſe now purſued. Such of the inhabitants as had eſcaped the ſword and pillage of Hyder Naik, by taking refuge in the woods, and within the walls of Vellore, &c. on the arrival of lord Macartney's amildar to Vellore, and in conſequence of his cowle of protection and ſupport, moſt chearfully returned to the villages, ſet about the cultivation of the lands, and with great pains rebuilt their cottages. —But now the amildar has impriſoned the wives and children of the inhabitants, ſeized the few jewels that were on the bodies of the women, and then, before the faces of their huſbands, flogged them, in order to make them produce other jewels and effects, which he ſaid they had buried ſomewhere under ground, and to make the inhabitants bring him money, notwithſtanding there was yet no cultivation in the country. Terrified with the flagellations, ſome of them produced their jewels, and wearing apparel of their women, to the amount of ten or fifteen pagodas, which they had hidden; others, who declared they had none, the amildar flogged their women ſeverely, tied cords around their breaſts, and tore the ſucking children from their teats, and expoſed them to the ſcorching heat of the ſun. Thoſe children died, as did the wife of *Ramſoamy*, an inhabitant of Bringpoor. Even this could not ſtir up compaſſion in the breaſt of the amildar. Some of the children

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children that were ſomewhat large, he expoſed to ſale. In ſhort, the violences of the amildar are ſo aſtoniſhing, that the people, on ſeeing the preſent ſituation, remember the loſs of Hyder with regret. With whomſoever the amildar finds a ſingle meaſure of *natchinee*, or *rice*, he takes it away from him, and appropriates it to the expences of the *Sibindy* that he keeps up. No revenues are collected from the countries, but from the effects of the poor wretched inhabitants. Thoſe *ryots* [yeomen] who intended to return to their habitations, hearing of thoſe violences, have fled for refuge, with their wives and children, into Hyder's country. Every day is uſhered in and cloſed with theſe violences and diſturbances. I have no power to do any thing; and who will hear what I have to ſay? My buſineſs is to inform your highneſs, who are my maſter. The people bring their complaints to me, and I tell them I will write to your highneſs." *

Tranſlation

* [The above-recited practices, or practices ſimilar to them, have prevailed in almoſt every part of the miſerable countries on the coaſt of Coromandel, for near twenty years paſt. That they prevailed as ſtrongly and generally as they could prevail, under the adminiſtration of the nabob, there can be no queſtion, notwithſtanding the aſſertion in the beginning of the above petition; nor will it ever be otherwiſe, whilſt affairs are conducted upon the principles which influence the preſent ſyſtem. Whether the particulars here aſſerted are true or falſe, neither the court of directors nor their miniſtry have thought proper to enquire. If they

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Tranſlation of a Tellinga Letter from Veira Permaul, Head Dubaſh to Lord Macartney, *in his own hand-writing*, to Rajah Ramchunda, the renter of Ongole; dated 25th of the Hindoo month Mauſay, in the year Plavanamal, correſponding to 5th March, 1782.

I PRESENT my reſpects to you, and am very well here, wiſhing to hear frequently of your welfare.

Your peaſher Vancatroyloo has brought the Viſſeel Bakees, and delivered them to me, as *alſo what you ſent him for me to deliver to my maſter, which I*

they are true, in order to bring them to affect lord Macartney, it ought to be proved that the complaint was made *to him*; *and that he had refuſed redreſs*. Inſtead of this fair courſe, the complaint is carried to the court of directors. The above is one of the documents tranſmitted by the nabob, in proof of his charge of corruption againſt lord Macartney. If genuine, it is concluſive, at leaſt againſt lord Macartney's principal agent and manager. If it be a forgery (as in all likelihood it is) it is concluſive againſt the nabob and his evil counſellors; and fully demonſtrates, if any thing further were neceſſary to demonſtrate, the neceſſity of the clauſe in Mr. Fox's bill prohibiting the reſidence of the native princes in the company's principal ſettlements; which clauſe was, for obvious reaſons, not admitted into Mr. Pitt's. It ſhews too the abſolute neceſſity of a ſevere and exemplary puniſhment on certain of his Engliſh evil counſellors and creditors, by whom ſuch practices are carried on.]

have

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have done. My maſter at firſt refuſed to take it, becauſe he is unacquainted with your diſpoſition, or what kind of a perſon you are. But after I made encomiums on your goodneſs and greatneſs of mind, and took my oath to the ſame, and that *it would not become publick*, but be held as precious as our lives, *my maſter accepted it.* You may remain ſatisfied, that I will get the Ongole buſineſs ſettled in your name; I will cauſe the jamaubundee to be ſettled agreeable to your deſire. It was formerly the nabob's intention to give this buſineſs to you, as the governour knows full well, but did not at that time agree to it, which you muſt be well acquainted with.

Your peaſher Vancatroyloo is a very careful good man—he is well experienced in buſineſs—*he has bound me by an oath to keep all this buſineſs ſecret, and that his own, yours, and my lives are reſponſible for it.* I write this letter to you with the greateſt reluctance, and I ſignified the ſame to your peaſher, and declared that I would not write to you by any means; to this the peaſher urged, that *if I did not write to his maſter, how could he know to whom he (the peaſher) delivered the money*, and what muſt his maſter think of it? therefore I write you this letter, and ſend it by my ſervant Ramanah, accompanied by the peaſher's ſervant, and it will come ſafe to your hands: after peruſal you will ſend

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ſend it back to me immediately—until I receive it I don't like to eat my victuals, or take any ſleep. Your peaſher took his oath, and urged me to write this for your ſatisfaction, and has engaged to me that I ſhall have this letter returned to me in the ſpace of twelve days.

The preſent governour is not like the former governours—he is a very great man in Europe—and all the great men of Europe are much obliged to him for his condeſcenſion in accepting the government of this place. It is his cuſtom when he makes friendſhip with any one to continue it always, and if *he is at enmity with any one, he never will deſiſt till he has worked his deſtruction; he is now exceedingly diſpleaſed with the nabob, and you will underſtand by and by that the nabob's buſineſs cannot be carried on;* he (the nabob) will have no power to do any thing in his own affairs; *you have therefore no room to fear him.* You may remain with a contented mind—I deſired the governour to write you a letter for your ſatisfaction; the governour ſaid he would do ſo when the buſineſs was ſettled. This letter you muſt peruſe as ſoon as poſſible, and ſend it back with all ſpeed by the bearer Ramadoo, accompanied by three or four of your people, to the end that no accident may happen on the road. Theſe people muſt be ordered to march in the night only, and to arrive here with the greateſt diſpatch.

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patch. You ſent ten mangoes for my maſter, and two for me, all which I have delivered to my maſter, thinking that ten was not ſufficient to preſent him with. I write this for your information, and ſalute you with ten thouſand reſpects.

I, Muttu Kiſtnah, of Madras Patnam, dubaſh, declare, That I perfectly underſtand the Gentoo language; and do moſt ſolemnly affirm, that the foregoing is a true tranſlation of the annexed paper writing from the Gentoo language.

(Signed) Muttu Kiſtnah.

THE END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

T. Gillet, Printer, Salisbury-square.

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